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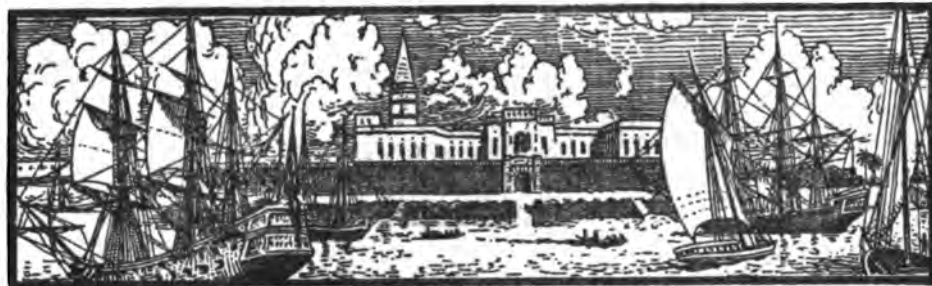
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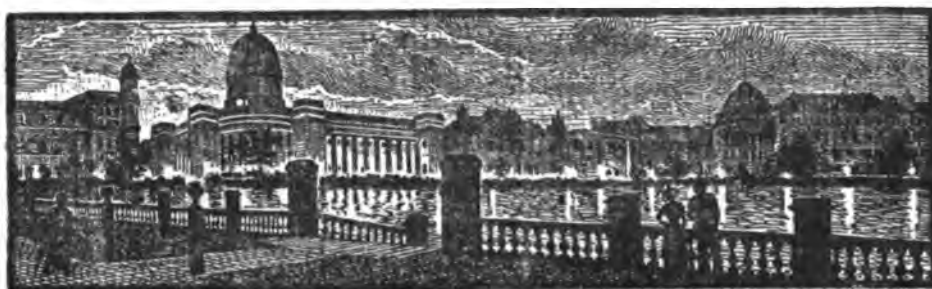
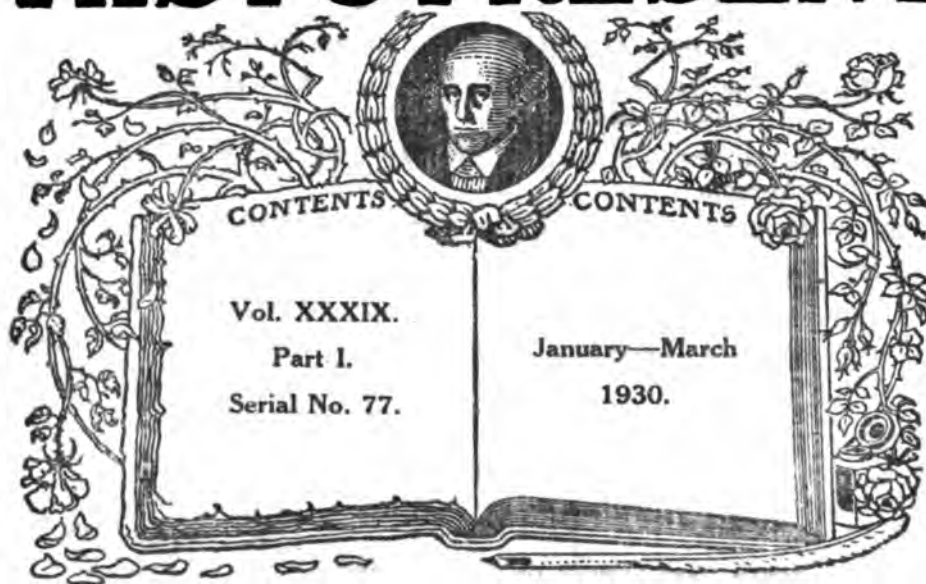
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* These papers were read at the Twelfth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior, 1929.



NORTH-EAST CORNER OF TANK SQUARE: ABOUT 1820.

Showing St. Andrew's Church which was opened for public worship on March 8, 1818; and a portion of Writers' Buildings.
From a water colour drawing

By Bently Buxton in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection.

Old Dalhousie Square.

CONSIDERABLE interest attaches to the water-colour sketch of the north-east corner of "Tank Square, Calcutta," which is reproduced on the opposite page. It has been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the trustees of the Leeds Museum: and, according to an inscription on the back, was painted by Bentley Buxton, or Burton, "civil engineer," whose presence in Calcutta has not yet been traced. The date, however, must be subsequent to 1818, for St. Andrew's Kirk, which was opened for public worship in that year, occupies the centre of the picture; and the carriages and palankeens in the right hand corner appear to be in the style of the twenties of last century. Writers' Buildings appear on the left, in the ugly barrack-like form in which they are presented to us by Daniell in 1786 and 1792, but without the red-roofed pillared verandah shown by Fraser in 1824. In 1821, when Writers' Buildings were used to accommodate the College of Fort William, three pediments supported on colonnades were added: but these cannot be discerned in the sketch. The date may therefore be fixed between 1818 and 1821.

A glimpse can be had of the spire of the Mission Church—John Zechariah Kiernander's Beth Tephillah—above the buildings on the right of the sketch. The restriction had been removed in 1806 which prohibited the erection of "any house or wall . . . except a palisade fence or railing" on the Company's *khamar* or waste land, which lay between Mission Row and the Eastern side of Tank Square. It is the existence of this *khamar* which enables us to get so good a view of the Mission Church in Daniell's aquatint of the "Great Tank looking east" which was published in 1786.

The "Great Tank," from which Calcutta drew its supply of drinking water for so many years, fills up the foreground. It will be noticed that it is surrounded by a low masonry wall. There is no sign of this in Fraser's view of the west side of Tank Square: where two large gates provide an entrance to the Tank, which is surrounded by a path. Nor was it there when Thomas Twining arrived in Calcutta in August 1792. On page 75 of *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, we read: "Having walked along under the northern wall of the [old] fort and passed the north-east angle I came to a large area or square, the middle of which was occupied by an extensive tank surrounded by substantial brick masonry and an exterior palisade, and having a flight of wide steps at each end, east and west." The steps on the east form a prominent feature of Daniell's view of the "Great Tank looking east." But there is, again, no masonry wall: merely a sloping masonry embankment. The palisades, of which Twining speaks, are seen in Daniell's aquatint.

A bungalow building of one storey may be observed on the right of St. Andrew's Kirk and at the corner formed by Lall Bazar and the square. There is a sketch by Colesworthy Grant on page 23 of his *Anglo-Indian Domestic*

Sketch, which was published in 1849 by "W. Thacker and Co., St. Andrew's Library, Calcutta." It evidently represents the same building, although it is taken from a different angle, for the spire of St. Andrew's Kirk rises at the back. On the extreme left hand corner of the building the words "Hong-kong Tea Warehouse" are inscribed above one of the shuttered windows, and further to the right we have the place of business of "C. Grant, Watch and Clock maker," with a covered porch. There could be no greater contrast than the one between this bungalow and the huge skyscraper which has been built on the site.

The whole of this side of the square has in fact, been completely transformed. But no structural changes can destroy the historical associations of "Lal Dighi," the oldest spot in Calcutta connected with the British in Bengal.

EVAN COTTON.

Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior.

INTRODUCTION. HOW THE GWALIOR STATE CAME INTO EXISTENCE. A RETROSPECT.

OF the many opportunities for genius and ambition which presented themselves towards the establishment of monarchy in India in the eighteenth century, there is scarcely a parallel that shows a more meteoric career than that of Mahadji Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior. The great empire of the Mughals, which Babar reared after the first battle of Panipat in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had at the time been dissolved. The sceptre of sovereignty had slipped from the feeble grasp of the successors of Aurangzeb, for they had become mere puppets in the hands of their powerful subordinates. The whirlwind incursions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, during the years 1739 to 1760, had sapped whatever yet remained of the great Mughal dominion. In Northern India, the Jats on the one side and the Rohillas on the other, were most barefacedly challenging the power of the Mughal emperors in the districts surrounding the Imperial Capital. In Southern India, practically the whole of the Deccan had become independent of the irksome yoke of Delhi. The growing British power, which was destined to establish a great empire in India, had not yet entered upon its glorious career. The path between the grave of the old power and the cradle of the new was beset with interminable conflicts and strifes between petty chiefs and glorified proconsuls. The inevitable consequence was the sudden rise, on the ashes of the towering Mughal empire in India, of a series of small self-growing States, most of them ephemeral, but others containing the germs of a future worthier existence. Of such States, one of the most tenacious was Gwalior, whose armies and Chiefs continued to play an important part in the politics of India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A brief account of the relations of the Honourable East India Company with the Court of perhaps the greatest sovereign of this State, should prove interesting reading to students of history.

IMPORTANCE OF THE RECORDS.

2. The records of the Imperial Record Department, which deal with these "relations," date from the beginning of the First Mahratta War in 1779, in which year Mahadji Sindhia came into conflict with the East India Company. The value of such records from the historical point of view will be evident from the following extract of the letter (1) which Captain J. Sutherland, the Resident at the Sindhia's Court, wrote to Mr. W. H.

(1) Political O. C., 13 Feb. 1839, No. 63 (1st letter).

Macnaghten, Secretary, on the 12th of August 1838, from the Gwalior Residency:—

"I have now the honour to submit the continuation of the sketch of our relations with Gwalior closed up to this date. It is given in much detail to render it of some value as an office record as well as to afford materials for future history."

HISTORY OF THE SINDHIAS.

3. To follow intelligently the subject-matter of this paper a knowledge of the history of the ancestors of Mahadji Sindhia may with advantage be included.

The ancestors of the Sindhia family, according to the statement of Captain J. Sutherland (2), used to live in the south of India, one branch of which held the hereditary post of *patel* in the village of Koorerkera in the district of Satara. The head of the family received a patent of rank from the Emperor Aurangzeb, while a daughter of this family was married to Raja Sahu, grandson of Sivaji. The first appearance of this family in Central India was early in the eighteenth century in the person of Ranoji Sindhia, a scion of an impoverished branch of the family, who began his career (3) as the slipper-bearer of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, and rose, owing to his military abilities, to be Commander of his bodyguard. From this position his rise to the first rank of the Mahratta Chiefs was rapid. Ranoji Sindhia fixed his headquarters at Ujjain (4), which rose to be the first capital of Sindhia's dominion. Ranoji Sindhia died at Shinghalpur (Shujalpur) about the year 1750 (5), the precise date of his death, however, being uncertain.

RANOJI SINDHIA'S DESCENDANTS.

4. Ranoji Sindhia left three legitimate sons, Jayapa, Dattaji and Jatiba, and two illegitimate sons, Tukaji and Mahadji, all of whom, except Tukaji, survived their father. Jayapa's life was cut short; he died by the hand of an assassin at Nagor in 1759 (6). Dattaji and Jatiba were killed during the fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1759-61). Hence it is found that within a few years of Ranoji Sindhia's death his family had become practically extinct.

MAHADJI SINDHIA.

5. Of the large family left by Ranoji Sindhia not a single descendant survived to perpetuate its grandeur except Mahadji, who narrowly escaped

(2) Pol. O. C., 18 Feb. 1839, No. 63-A.

(3) According to Grant-Duff, this seems incredible. He says "the Sindhias were distinguished *sillidars* (cavaliers) since the time of the Bahmani dynasty. It is difficult to see why Ranoji Sindhia, who was a relation to Raja Sahu, should prefer a menial service to the military profession, which, at that time, promised to every youthful and aspiring spirit a rich harvest of wealth and glory."

(4) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, New York, 1910, Vol. XII, p. 748.

(5) *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XII, puts the date as "1745." But Mr. C. Aitchison says "that he died in 1750 in Malwa."

(6) Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 11; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 748.

with his life from the terrible slaughter of Panipat (7) in 1761. It was a crisis in the history of the family of the Sindhias. It was feared that the then Peshwa, the head of the Mahratta Confederacy, would, under the plea of illegitimacy, deprive Mahadji of his father's possessions: this would have caused the name of the Sindhias to be buried in oblivion. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise. Mahadji Sindhia was destined not only to receive back his father's territories, but "to cut a great figure in Indian history, to establish one of the most powerful and lasting Hindu monarchies in India and to play a paramount role in the drama of Anglo-Sindhia relations in India."

6. Mahadji Sindhia!—a name to conjure up the bygone chivalry of India! He was the greatest that his age and country could produce at the time. It was true that he could not oppose successfully Generals Goddard and Camac in the First Mahratta War: who else could? History admits "that with worthless soldiers which Mahadji Sindhia had at his command, even Napoleon Bonaparte himself could not have done that. Generalship can go very far but it cannot of itself gain a victory. Had he brave and disciplined English armies at his command, he could have established his absolute sway over India within a very short time."

CHAOTIC STATE OF THE PESHWA GOVERNMENT.

7. The history of Gwalior may be computed to begin from the time of Mahadji Sindhia who founded Gwalior after obtaining from the then Peshwa, with some difficulty, a re-grant of his father's fief in the year 1769 (8). The Mahratta Government was then in a state of ferment, and this disturbed state of affairs due to the rule of the Peshwa was instrumental in fashioning future relations between the East India Company and Sindhia's Court. Shortly after his assumption of Kingship, Narayan Rao, the fifth Peshwa, was murdered (9) in 1772; during the scramble for the Peshwaship which followed, Mahadji Sindhia seized the occasion to extend his power and played an important part in the civil onslaught. In the year 1775 when Raghunath Rao, the uncle of the late Peshwa (better known as Raghoba), claimed for himself the post of Peshwa under the aid of the East India Company (10), Nana Farnavis, the Minister of the then infant Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, invoked the help of the French (11). In the struggle, Mahadji Sindhia was the chief supporter of the party of Nana

(7) Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 11; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 748.

(8) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 748.

(9) *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, by W. W. Hunter, Vol. VI, p. 321.

(10) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 31st May, 1775. The letter from the President and Council at Bombay to the Board, dated Bombay, the 31st March, 1775, throws considerable light on this subject. One interesting fact elicited is that Raghoba's troops partially consisted of Arab soldiers.

(11) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 23rd January, 1778; 13th March, 1778; 22nd June, 1778.

Farnavis. An English translation of the paper (12) delivered by Nana Farnavis to Mons. de St. Lubin, gives a very clear insight of his fervent appeal for French intervention:—

“When the disturbance raised by Morajee is over, which will be ended shortly and without difficulty, I will call your troops from Europe and join them with the Peshwa's army, when by your assistance the business will be properly concluded for which a *jaghir* shall be granted you from the *Sarcar* of the said Peshwa. But now we must set about consulting; the business will come into hand very soon; we shall punish a nation (the English) who have raised up an insolent head (Raghoba), and whose measure of injustice is now full. Some other men, too, who have given protection to the enemy, shall have their crime with its punishment laid before them. (Written on) the 15th *Rabehsanny* in the 19th year of the reign or the 13th May 1778.”

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ATTEMPT TO ENTER INTO RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COURT OF GWALIOR.

8. When the Mahratta Government was in the throes of civil war, the British Government, with their usual conciliatory policy tried to conclude a treaty with Mahadji Sindhia in order to employ him as a mediator in disputes with other parties; but Sindhia's ambition and his insistence on some of the inadmissible conditions of the Convention of Wargaon (13) (1779) defeated these negotiations and this first attempt of the East India Company to enter into friendly relations with the Gwalior Court signally failed.

MAHRATTA WAR.

9. The failure of the Convention of Wargaon led to the First Mahratta War in 1779 and soon the East India Company came into touch with the Court of Mahadji Sindhia. In the conflict, the series of reverses which Mahadji Sindhia sustained at the hands of Generals J. Camac and T. Goddard between the years 1779 and 1780, led him to appreciate the strength and discipline of this new Power which had now entered into the arena of Indian politics. The brilliant capture by Major William Popham of the Gwalior Fort (14), which had hitherto been deemed as impregnable (15) by the Indians, utterly destroyed the *morale* of Sindhia's troops, and this soon led him to come to terms with the Honourable East India Company. A

(12) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 17th August, 1778.

(13) Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 11.

(14) Major William Popham, in his letters to the Board, dated Gwalior, the 4th and 5th August 1780, gives a detailed account of the capture of Gwalior fort and a brief interesting description of the citadel (Pub. Dept. Prog., Vol. 24, Aug. 1780, pp. 1400-6). In this connection see also Pub. O. C., 28 Aug. 1780, Nos. 1-2.

(15) Pub. O. C., 28 Aug. 1780, No. 5.

treaty (16) was concluded by Col. Grainger Muir on the 13th October 1781 by which the respective forces of Col. Muir and Sindhia were withdrawn and Mahadji Sindhia agreed to use his good offices to effect a peace, or to remain neutral. This treaty, which restored the *status quo ante*, marks the beginning of the East India Company's cordial relations with the Court of Mahadji Sindhia.

MAHADJI SINDHIA'S FAILURE IN THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR.

10. Although Mahadji Sindhia had lost the First Mahratta War, yet from the following extract from the letter of Brigadier-General T. Goddard to the Board, dated the 20th June 1780, it is abundantly clear that Sindhia was certainly not a negligible factor in this contest from the English point of view. Says the extract (17):—

“ If Mahadji Sindhia continues at Oogain till up to the close of the rains, which, I conceive, will be the case, a powerful diversion might be made in that quarter to prevent his passing to the southward of the Nerbudda to succour Nana Farnavese, and I would venture to pronounce, as far as human probability and reason may presume, that, without Sindhia's aid, the minister (Nana Farnavese) would be immediately compelled to terms and enter into any engagements that might be required of him.”

TREATY OF SALBAI.

11. This treaty with Col. G. Muir laid the foundation of the East India Company's relations with the Gwalior Court. The real treaty, however, which completed the fabric of Anglo-Sindhia relationship, both political and commercial, and which helped to wipe out all past strained relationship between them, was signed at Salbai (18) on the 17th May 1782, Mahadji Sindhia being the guarantee for its observance. This treaty was regarded by the then Governor-General Warren Hastings so very essential for the upkeep of the *entente cordiale* between the English and Mahadji Sindhia's Court that he issued important instructions to Mr. David Anderson who was appointed by him to conclude this peace. An extract (19) from the letter of Warren Hastings to David Anderson, dated Benares, the 4th November 1781, bears ample testimony to this:—

“ It is, therefore, with a view to dispose him more strongly to our interests, that I desire you to repair to him (Mahadji Sindhia) to give him the strongest assurances of my personal esteem and friendship and of my desire to cultivate and improve the connection which had lately been formed between us. The most effectual means of accomplishing these purposes

(16) Letter from Col. G. Muir to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, dated Camp near Sessai, the 20th Oct. 1781 (Sec. Con., dated Fort William, 12th Nov. 1781).

(17) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 13th Nov. 1780.

(18) Pub. O. C., 22 April 1780, No. 25.

(19) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 10th Dec. 1781. For the “ instructions ” issued to Mr. David Anderson, the students are referred to the letter itself.

would be a personal interview between Sindhia and myself, and I desire that you will endeavour to draw from him his sentiments concerning it, and advise it if you find him disposed to do it, but do not abruptly or formally demand it."

MAHADJI SINDHIA AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

12. A letter (20) from Mr. D. Anderson to the Governor-General, dated Sindhia's camp near Gwalior, the 20th February 1783, shows with what civility and cordiality Mahadji Sindhia received the British plenipotentiary and finally ratified the Treaty of Salbai:—

"I have the honour to inform you that the treaty betwixt the English Government and the Mahratta State was this day completely and finally ratified. In the morning Mahadji Sindhia, attended with all his principal officers, did me the honor to pay me a long visit as a public demonstration of his friendship towards the English Government, after which we proceeded to his tent, where, in the presence of a very numerous assembly, the ratified treaties were formally interchanged, the one under the seal of the Peshwa and the signature of Nana Farnavese being delivered to me, and the other under the seal of the Company and the signature of the Hon'ble Board to Mahadji Sindhia."

CHARACTER OF MAHADJI SINDHIA.

13. The undermentioned extract (21) from the letter of Mr. D. Anderson to the Governor-General, dated the 27th February 1783, after his visit with Mahadji Sindhia in connection with the aforesaid event, gives us a faithful estimate of the Sindhia's straightforward character and of his desire to maintain good relations with the British Government:—

"Before I conclude this letter, permit me to indulge myself for a moment in the pleasing task of tendering a tribute of justice to Mahadji Sindhia. In the course of this long negotiation (during the ratification of the treaty of Salbai) many circumstances have passed to impress us with unfavourable opinions. Yet we may perhaps find much apology for Sindhia's conduct when we reflect that he has been acting for a superior and probably been often obliged to give way to the dictates of Ministers, by nature grasping and suspicious, from circumstances rendered arrogant, and many of them from peculiar views of selfish policy absolutely averse to the negotiation. His conduct on the subject of Broach, where his own interests were only concerned, has formed a very agreeable contrast. Nothing can exceed the delicacy which he has shewn in this affair. You may remember that he executed the original treaty without accepting any written testimony from me of your intentions. He had now completed the ratification without requiring the delivery of your grant which is at this moment still in my possession. Since the information I gave him about seven months ago of

(20) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 10th March 1783.

(21) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 15th March 1783.

the arrival of your grant, the subject has scarcely been mentioned more than once, and then only in consequence of my repeating the nature of the obligation which you expected from him regarding the privileges of trade; without requiring any written stipulation or importuning me for explanations or betraying the slightest mark of suspicion he seems throughout the whole of this business (ratification of the Treaty of Salbai) to have relied implicitly on the honour and generosity of the British Government. Candour surely requires that we should judge of his character rather from his conduct in these matters when he is left at liberty and where his own interest only is affected than from the part which he is constrained to act in negotiating on behalf of the Peshwa."

BOTH A POLITICAL AND A COMMERCIAL TREATY.

14. The treaty of Salbai, as the records (22) testify, not only brought about amicable and political relations between the East India Company and the Sindhia's Durbar, but initiated healthy commercial relationship as well. The 11th and 12th Articles of this treaty speak for themselves:—

"That the vessels of each shall afford no disturbance to the navigation of the vessels of the other and the vessels of each shall be allowed access to the ports of the other where they shall meet with no molestation and the fullest protection shall be reciprocally afforded."

"That the English shall enjoy the privilege of trade in the Mahratta territories and shall meet with no kind of interruption and in the same manner the East India Company agree that the Mahrattas shall be allowed the privileges of trade without interruption in the territories of the English."

Records (23) further enlighten the curious that the happy relations and the spirit of mutual understanding, which this treaty brought about between the English and the Gwalior Court, were so heartily appreciated and welcomed by the British Government, that, to testify their joy, orders were issued "that on the morning of the 11th March 1783 all the guns of the garrison at Fort William be fired in commemoration of the Mahratta treaty, and that salutes be likewise fired at every station of the army." It is also a noteworthy fact that to make the Treaty of Salbai an unqualified success and also "to mark their regard for Sindhia's humane conduct to the Bombay army at the time of the Convention of Wargaon," the British Government granted to Mahadji Sindhia "all right, title and possession in the fort, town and pargana of Baroach (*sic*) on the 6th June 1782." Mahadji Sindhia also on his part, as may be gathered from the records, in order to reciprocate the friendly dealings of the British Government, "granted to them an agreement on the 21st March 1783 not to permit any other European nation, except the English, to trade in any shape in the said city, fort and pargana of Baroach." Within a decade, however, a rupture took place in the Anglo-

(22) Pub. O. C., 22 April 1789, No. 25.

(23) Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 10th March, 1783; Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, Vol. IV, p. 37.

Sindhia amity on account of the high-handedness of Sindhia's officers towards the English factory near by.

AFTER THE TREATY OF SALBAI.

15. The Treaty of Salbai will always stand in history as the greatest landmark in the annals of Anglo-Sindhia relations in India. It raised Mahadji Sindhia to a commanding position in his country. He was no longer a mere feudatory chief of the Peshwa, but had now become an independent Chief, the mighty ally of the British Government who had honoured his Court with the presence of their representatives (24). The system of strict neutrality which the East India Company pursued after the aforesaid treaty, left Mahadji Sindhia at liberty. He determined to lose no time to take full advantage of the British neutrality and in vigorously pushing his military schemes in Northern Hindusthan. He was materially assisted by Benoit de Boigne (25), a French soldier of fortune, and, with the army trained and disciplined by him, successfully reduced several Rajput States, effectually humbled the pride of Holkar and played an important part in the re-establishment of Emperor Shah Alum on the throne in 1785.

TREATY OF GWALIOR.

16. Two months or so after the ratification of the Treaty of Salbai another treaty seemed necessary to clear up certain doubtful commercial point concerning the Salbai treaty. An additional treaty was therefore entered into. The Treaty of Gwalior (26) was signed between Mr. David Anderson on behalf of the East India Company, and Mahadji Sindhia. On the 26th April of 1783 it came into force and a special clause was inserted:—

(24) Mr. David Anderson, who concluded the Treaty of Salbai on behalf of the East India Company, was appointed the first Resident at the Court of Mahadji Sindhia (1783). The second Resident was Lieut. James Anderson, first Resident's brother (1783-86). The third Resident was Capt. William Kirkpatrick (1786-87). The fourth Resident was Major William Palmer (1788-94). The letters of the Earl of Cornwallis, the Governor-General, to these Residents, between 1786 and 1794, throw a flood of light on the Anglo-Sindhia relations and on Mahadji's military career. (Foreign Dept. Miscellaneous Record No. 45.)

(25) Benoit de Boigne, an inhabitant of Savoy (France), came to India to seek his fortune. He had served under Lord Clare in the famous Irish Brigade at Fontenoy and elsewhere, and, after many vicissitudes, including imprisonment by the Turks, reached India and for a time held a commission in the 6th Madras Infantry. After resigning his commission he had proposed to travel overland to Russia, but was prevented from doing so by the loss of his papers and possessions. He finally entered Sindhia's service and was instrumental in establishing Sindhia's supremacy in Northern Hindusthan. *Chambers' Encyclopædia* says that "he raised Sindhia's force to an army of 18,000 regular and 6,000 irregular infantry and 2,000 irregular and 600 Persian horse with 200 cannons." The terms on which De Boigne entered the service of Sindhia are very curious. He got no advance of money. He was only allowed Rs. 1,000 a month for himself and Rs. 5 a month indiscriminately for every soldier he raised. The military career of Mahadji Sindhia is found in the Public, Secret, Political, Army and Persian records of the Imperial Record Department, 1794 onwards.

(26) Pub. O. C., 22 April 1789, No. 25.

"In the 11th Article of the Treaty of Salbai relating to the mutual intercourse of shipping, the words 'according to former custom' not having been inserted, it is now therefore explained that the intercourse of friendship shall be carried on according to former custom."

LAST DAYS OF MAHADJI SINDHIA.

17. The glory of the house of Mahadji Sindhia was now at its zenith. It was the closing years of his life. The opinion of Colonel Malleon on these years will amply repay perusal: "He was now by far the most powerful prince of the Mahrattas, there was none who could even be called his second, and it was evident from his great genius and the irresistible power he had acquired, that he would soon be the virtual, if not nominal, head of the Mahratta people and the ruler of the greatest part of India. What a grand prospect of unparalleled power, glory and grandeur lay before him! The gorgeous dreams of his youth and later years are now about to be realised! He would be the Captain-General of the united forces of the Indian princes against the foreign intruders who threatened to absorb all India in their ever-growing empire. He would bring under one standard the scattered horsemen and French Contingent of Tipu Sultan, the powerful artillery of the Nizam, the whole force of the Rajputs, and every spear which his influence could have collected from the Mahratta Confederacy, and, at the head of these combined forces, fight the great battle of Hindu independence and would thus wipe out the disgrace of the Third Panipat. Visions of glory and empire floated before him and his fancy painted the future with rainbow tints, with orient colours." But visions are visions, after all! Such things were not destined to be. While Sindhia was contemplating his dreams of future glory, he was "suddenly attacked with violent fever which terminated his life at Wanauli (27) on the 12th February 1794." He passed away in the midst of his lofty ambitions at a time when success seemed almost within his grasp.

"There is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will."

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Armenians at Agra & Gwalior.

IN the Papers which I have read at the Annual Meetings of the *Indian Historical Records Commission* at Lahore, Lucknow, Rangoon and Nagpur, I have shown that Armenians have been connected with India as traders from very ancient times. And in my Paper on "Hindoos in Armenia, 150 years before Christ", read at the Lucknow Session, I gave an account of the flight of two fugitive Hindoo princes of far-famed Kanauj to far-off Armenia in the year 149 B.C. where they found a safe asylum and were welcomed by the Armenian King Valarsaces, who showed them every hospitality and gave them permission to build cities and erect Hindoo temples for the worship of God in their own way, since Armenia was a heathen country then. Although Armenians traded with India from the days of remote antiquity, yet they formed no permanent settlements or planted any colonies at the principal commercial centres of the country. They were merely birds of passage who came overland all the way from the land of Ararat of Biblical fame, through Persia, Afghanistan, Bactria and Tibet, to purchase the spices and the fine muslins for which ancient India was famous. It was Akbar who induced them to come and settle in his dominions instead of being mere sojourners in the country. He was well aware of the intelligence of the Armenians and their integrity in commercial matters and wished to improve the trade of the country through their agency. It is recorded by Thomas Khojamall (1), the Armenian historian of Bengal, that during one of his *incognito* tours in Cashmere, Akbar met an Armenian merchant, by name Jacob (2), who had his son with him, a handsome and a promising lad. Akbar invited the Armenian merchant to come and settle at Agra and at the same time induce his countrymen in the Punjab and elsewhere in India to come and reside at the imperial city where they would be given permission, by their royal patron, to build a church for the worship of God in their own way, as Akbar knew that the Armenians were a religious race of ancient Christians and would not settle in a place where they could not have and enjoy the free and undisturbed use and exercise of their own religion.

Akbar's invitation to the Armenians had the desired effect, for a flourishing Armenian colony soon sprang up at Agra and at the express wish of

(1) Thomas Khojamall died at Delhi in 1780 and his body was brought down to Agra and interred in the Armenian cemetery of that city, where his grave can be seen to this day. His faithful Indian servant, Chichroo, placed a tombstone over his grave with an inscription in Armenian.

(2) There is, in the possession of an Armenian curio-collector at Constantinople, a unique antique jar, of beautiful workmanship, made of brass, bearing an inscription in Armenian of which the following is a translation:—

"Made in the city of Lahore in the year 1616 for the use of Khojah Minas, the son of Khojah Yaqoob [Jacob]."

Could he have been a son of the Armenian merchant Jacob whom Akbar met at Cashmere?

the Emperor, a church was erected there in 1562. Akbar, the Marcus Aurelius of India, who could appreciate true worth and reward real merit, took a great liking to his Armenian subjects whom he regarded as valuable assets. One of his queens, Mariam Zemani Begum, was an Armenian. The Chief Justice of the Empire (Mir Adl.) Abdul Hai, was an Armenian. The lady doctor in the royal seraglio was an Armenian, Juliana by name. It was this Lady Juliana who was given by Akbar in marriage to Prince Jean Philippe de Bourbon of Navarre when that royal adventurer appeared at the Court of Akbar. A daughter of the Armenian Abdul Hai, the Chief Justice, was given in marriage by Akbar to an Armenian at his court, by name Iskandar (Alexander) who had come to Agra from Aleppo. His son, Alexander, better known as Mirza Zul-Qurnain rose, through sheer merit, to be a Grandee (Amir) of the Mogul Court during the reign of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan.

The limited space at my disposal will not permit me to speak of the remarkable career of this renowned Armenian who was a great favourite with Akbar and was brought up in the Palace, being practically the adopted son of Akbar's Armenian queen, whose nephew he is supposed to have been, for it is a moot point whether Akbar's Armenian wife was a daughter of Abdul Hai, the Armenian Chief Justice, or some other lady.

The Jesuit Fathers at the Mogul Court have written at great length and in terms of the highest praise about their friend and great patron, Mirza Zul-Qurnain, and these have been carefully collected and published by my learned friend, Father H. Hosten, S.J., of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1916. I shall therefore content myself with an extract from the "Memoirs of Jehangeer," (Tuzak-i-Jehangeeri) in which Jehangeer speaks of the Armenian Mirza Zul-Qurnain as follows:—

ذوالقرنین بفوجداری سانبهر دستوری یافت او پسر اسکندر ارمنی است
پدرش در خدمت عرش اشیانی سعادت پزیر بود انحضرت صبیح عبد الحی
ارمنی را که در شبستان اقبال خدمت می نمود باو نسبت فرمودند از او دو
پسر بوجود آمد یکی ذوالقرنین که بقدر نشاء اگاهی و خدمت طلبی داشت
و در عهد دولت من دیوانیان عظام خدمت خالصه نمکسار را بعده او
مقرر نمودند و انخدمت را تغذک سروسامان میکرد درینولا بفوجداری آن
حدود سرفراز گشت به نغمه هندی سری دارد سلیقه اش دهنی فن درست
رفته و تصنیفات او مکرر بعرض رسیده و پسند افتاده •

The above can be translated thus:—

"Zul-Qurnain obtained leave to proceed to the *Faujdarship* of Sambhar. He is the son of Iskandar, the Armenian, and his father had the

good fortune to be in the service of Arshashyani [Akbar], who gave him in marriage the daughter of Abdul Hai (3) the Armenian, who was in service in the royal harem. By her he had two sons, one was Zul-Qurnain, who was intelligent and fond of work, and to him, during my reign the chief *diwans* had entrusted the charge of the Government Salt Works at Sambhar, a duty which he performed efficiently. He was now appointed to the *Faujdarship* of that region. He is an accomplished composer of Hindi songs. His method in this art was correct and his compositions were frequently brought to my notice and were approved."

Mirza Zul-Qurnain (which name was given to the Armenian lad by Akbar) was a good Hindi scholar, an accomplished Persian poet and a singer of repute. It is mentioned in Waris's continuation of the *Padishah Nama* (page 392 of British Museum MSS.) that Mirza Zul-Qurnain came from Bengal and presented poems which he had composed in Shah Jehan's name on the occasion of his accession, and got a present of four thousand rupees. We have still to discover the famous poem which he composed on the occasion when Shah Jehan removed his capital from Agra to Shah Jehanabad, or Delhi, in 1648. A Jesuit Father refers to this remarkable poem as follows: "The King at great expense had built a most magnificent city to which he gave the name of Ganabad [Shah Jehanabad] in praise therefore of the vast city he had founded, the King asked Mirza [Zul-Qurnain], by far the best poet of those regions, to write a suitable piece of poetry. Mirza summoned up all the power of his talent, he wrote in verse that was perfect; but in it he sang, not the praises of the King, but the power of God alone: Mirza's only object was to show to the King that the glory of the city and its perfection were attributable to God alone. The King, who, in his greed for flattery, expected his own praises, indignantly rejected the panegyric. Afterwards, he submitted his name where that of God came in, so that what was said to God's praise would be attributed to him. In this you see how Mirza's intrepid piety came into conflict with the intolerable arrogance of the King."

It may be mentioned that Mirza Zul-Qurnain, had been brought up in Akbar's Court with the future Shah Jehan. They had been playmates, and Shah Jehan had to allow Mirza Zul-Qurnain many things which he would have suffered from no one else.

(3) Abdul Hai is mentioned in some MSS. of the *Akbarnama* (Vol. III) as taking part in the religious discussions of Akbar. His full name was Mir Abdul Hai, Mir Adl. The *Tabaqat* calls him Khwajah Abdul Hai and says that he was an Amir. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* he is mentioned as "the Qazi of the Imperial Camp" (Ordu).

That Abdul Hai, the Armenian, was the Chief Justice of Akbar's Court, is evident from the following episode in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. "In the 35th year, at the feast of Abanmah, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Sadr [Miran, better known as Sadr Jahan Mufti] and Abdul Hai, the Chief Justice of the Empire, took part in a drinking feast, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups, that he quoted the well-known verse from Hafiz—

در دور پادشاه خطا بخش جرم پوش حافظ قرايه کش شد و مفتي پياله نوش

Another Jesuit writes of Mirza Zul-Qurnain as follows:—

"The King [Jehangeer] loves him, as brought up in the Royal House at King Akbar's order by one of the queens, whom he called mother, and King Akbar he called father." This clearly shows that Akbar had an Armenian wife.

In 1609, a *debonair* Englishman, Captain William Hawkins, of the ship "Hector," arrived at Agra as an envoy from King James I of England to the Court of Jehangeer with a letter from the King, soliciting permission to trade in India, but after a struggle of four years, he was obliged to return to England, his mission having proved a failure, Jehangeer's kindly feelings and intimacy towards him notwithstanding, yet his journey to Agra and his residence at the Court of Jehangeer, may be looked upon as the opening scene in the history of British India.

Although Hawkins, despite his strenuous efforts was unable to gain any material gain or advantage for his king and country, yet he did not go home empty handed, as far as he was personally concerned, as can be seen presently.

Hawkins the *first* Englishman to visit the magnificent Court of Jehangeer, arrived at Agra on the 16th April 1609, after encountering many obstacles during the long and tedious journey of 40 days from Surat. On his arrival, he was sent for by the Emperor to whom he delivered the letter bearing the King's (James I) Seal which the monarch for sometime carefully examined. An old Jesuit priest acted as interpreter in making its contents known to the Great Mogul. Jehangeer invited Hawkins to visit the palace daily and held long discourses with him in the Turki language, about England and the different countries in Europe. The Emperor not only earnestly requested him to remain in India until he could himself send an Embassy to England, but urged him, in true oriental fashion, to accept a wife in addition to many other valuable presents. This strange offer Hawkins could not possibly refuse for policy's sake, but he hoped to be able to evade the same by telling the Emperor that his religious convictions would not allow him to marry any one but a Christian, thinking that *no* Christian girl could be found in that remote quarter of the globe, but in the words of Hawkins, "the Emperor's search was so diligent that he produced a young Armenian mayden of noble birth" whom he married in 1609.

Hawkins gives a graphic account of this interesting episode in his journal and which is published in "Purchas his Pilgrimes". He writes:—"The King was very earnest with mee to take a white Mayden out of his Palace, who would give her all things necessary, with slaves, and hee would promise mee shee should turne Christian: and by this meanes my meates and drinckes should bee looked into by them and I should live without feare. In regard shee was a Moore [Mohammedan] I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it. At which my speech, I little thought a Christian's Daughter could bee found, so the King called to Memorie one

Mubarique Sha his Daughter, who was a Christian Armenian, and of the Race of the most ancient Christians, who [Mubarique Sha] was a Captaine, and in great favour with Ekbar [Akbar] Padasha, this King's Father. This Captaine dyed suddenly, and without will, with a Masse of Money, and all robbed by his Brothers and Kindred, and Debts that cannot be recovered, leaving the Child but only a few Jewels. I seeing shee was of so honest a Descent, having passed my word to the King, could not notwithstanding my fortunes, therefore I took her, and for want of a Minister, before Christian Witnesses I marryed her, the Priest was my man Nicholas, which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a Preacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton, and hee showing mee the error, I was now marryed agayne, for ever after I lived content and without feare, shee being willing to goe where I went and live as I lived."

It appears from Hawkins' narrative in "Purchas", that his wife had her mother, brother and relatives living at Agra at the time of their departure from that city, on the 2nd November 1611 (4).

They got safely on board Sir Henry Middleton's ship in January 1612 and proceeded to Bantam, whence they sailed for England in the "Thomas", arriving at Saldanha Bay on the 21st April 1613. The "Thomas" sailed from Saldanha Bay on the 21st May 1613, but Hawkins was not fated to see his native land again, for he died at sea on the passage from the Cape and his body was carried home and buried in Ireland.

His Armenian widow was left in a very forlorn condition, alone amongst total strangers, but she had a very fine diamond worth £2,000 and some smaller ones worth £4,000 so that she had no difficulty in finding another English husband. In 1614, she married Gabriel Towerson, who had been in the voyage of Captain Saris and had brought home the "Hector", the ship in which Captain William Hawkins had sailed to India. In 1617 Captain Towerson and his wife went out to India again and visited Agra, where the lady remained with her relatives. Towerson went home and in 1620 he was appointed Principal Factor at the Moluccas where he was judicially murdered after suffering inhuman treatment from the Dutch on the 27th February, 1623. He was the chief victim of the wholesale massacre of the English at Amboyna.

It may be mentioned that the Honourable East India Company presented the Armenian lady from Agra, on the death of her first husband, with a purse of 200 Jacobuses,* "as a token of their love," upon a general release being given by her.

It may be observed that the romantic matrimonial alliance of Hawkins with an Armenian maiden of Agra in 1609, was the *first* Anglo-Armenian marriage in this country, where during the past 300 years, many Englishmen

(4) In 1612, Jehangir permitted the English Company to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad and Cambay and these purely commercial houses became, in the course of time, the solid foundations of British rule in India.

* A "Jacobus" was a gold coin of the value of 25 shillings, struck in the reign of James I.

(5) have married Armenian wives, actuated no doubt by the same sentiments that prompted Captain William Hawkins, the envoy of King James I of England, to accept an "Armenian Maiden" as his legal wife.

There must have been a fairly large number of Armenians at Agra during the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, judging from the number of graves that can still be seen in the old Armenian cemetery of that historic city, amongst which there are graves of many eminent merchants from New Julfa—the Armenian suburb of Ispahan.

It appears from Manrique's Travels (1629-1643) that the Armenian merchants had a *Caravan Serai* of their own at Agra and Fray Sebastian Manrique who arrived at Agra on Xmas Eve, 1640, writes as follows:—"After entering the City, I made my way to the Caramossora [Caravan Serai] of the Armenians in order to obtain information there about a rich merchant there to whom I had been directed to apply. On hearing that he was at Biana (6), three days journey from Agra, and also that, as it was the season for purchasing Indico anil [indigo], he would be detained there longer than I could spare, I arranged to hire a cart for a week hence to go and see him." On his arrival at Biani, Manrique says "I got into touch with the merchant whom I had gone to see. He completed my business next day to my satisfaction arranging for a relative of his own to accompany me, who, being well instructed in such matters, would be able to guide me in dealing with any occasion which might arise, especially with regard to my business with Father Antonio de Christo—an Augustinian who had been a Prior at Hugli and was imprisoned in 1632-3 at Agra by Shah Jehan's orders."

Father Manrique was an Augustinian Friar himself and had come to Agra to obtain the liberation of Father Antonio de Christo and some

(5) In 1813, an English doctor, James Short of the Honourable East India Company's service, married at Patna an Armenian lady, Mary by name, the widow of an Armenian merchant named Minas. One of their daughters, named Mariam, became one of the queens of Ghaziuddin Hyder (the first King of Oude) and was called Nawab Sultan Mariam Begum Saheba. She received a monthly pension of Rs. 2,500 from Ghaziuddin Hyder during her lifetime, and as she had no issue, a pension of Rs. 833-5-4 per month was allowed after her death to her younger brother, Joseph Short, and it is being paid to this day to the descendants of Joseph Short from the Government Wasika office at Lucknow. (Vide *Aitchison's Treaties*, Vol. II).

Nawab Sultan Mariam Begum Saheba lived and died a Christian in 1849 and was buried at the cemetery near the Roshan-ud-dowla's Kotha at Lucknow. The beautiful marble tombstone over her grave was broken and destroyed by the mutineers in 1857. There is a mural tablet to her memory in the R. C. Church (St. Joseph's) at Hazratganj, Lucknow, erected by her sister-in-law, Amelia Short.

(6) Biana or Bayana lies S. W. of Agra on the railway to Kotah. It has always been famous for its indigo, a fact which is mentioned by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and it is constantly referred to in the Surat Factory Records (1634-36). There was a great competition between the English and the Dutch in purchasing that commodity and the shrewd Armenian merchants of Agra played a prominent part in raising the prices, as can be seen from the following extract from the *Remonstratie* of Francisco Pelsaert, a Factor of the Dutch East India Company at Agra from 1620-27. Writing of the indigo trade, the enterprising Dutchman says:—

Portuguese prisoners who were incarcerated at Agra. He had evidently brought a letter of introduction from an eminent Armenian merchant of Bengal to the Armenian merchant at Agra whom he went and interviewed at Biana and who most nobly placed the services of his relative at the disposal of the Augustinian Prior in his dangerous mission to appease the wrath of Shah Jehan.

That Shah Jehan was very friendly with the Armenians, the following extract from "Tavernier's Travels in India," will show. Writing in 1665, Tavernier says: "There are some who wonder that Cha-Jehan against the practice of the Mahumetans, who abhor images, did permit of carving, but the reason conjectured at is, that it is done upon the consideration that his father and himself learnt from the Jesuits certain principles of mathematics and astrology. Though he had not the same kindness for them [the Jesuits] at another time, for going one day to visit an Armenian, that lay sick, whose name was Corgia, whom he loved very well and had honoured with several employments, at what time, the Jesuits who lived next to the Armenian's house, rang their bell; the sound thereof so displeased the King, as being a disturbance to the sick person, that in a great fury he commanded the bell to be taken away, and hung about his elephant's neck. Some four days after, the King seeing his elephant with that great bell about his neck, fearing so great a weight might injure his elephant, caused the bell to be carried to the *Couteval*, which is a kind of a railed place, where a Provost sits as a judge, and decides differences among the people of that quarter, where it has hung ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with Cha-Jehan, and in regard he was an excellent wit, and an excellent poet, he was very much in the King's favour, who had conferred upon him many fair commands, though he could never either by threats or promises win him to turn Mahometan."

Although Taveriner gives Corgia as the name of the sick Armenian, whom Shah Jehan visited, yet it is evident from the concluding portion of his account that the sick friend of the Emperor was nobody else but the

"From repeated personal experience then my opinion is that such times (indigo season) it is more profitable for the Honourable Company that buyers should keep quiet than they should run about the country from one village to another. Goodness knows the Armenians do quite enough of that running and racing about like hungry fellows whose greedy eyes show that they are dissatisfied with the meal provided, who take a taste of every dish and make the other guests hurry to secure their portions, but directly they have tasted each course, they are satisfied and can hold no more. In the indigo market they behave just like that, making as if they would buy up the whole stock, raising prices, losing a little themselves and causing great injury to us and to other buyers who have to purchase large quantities."

In closing the Chapter on "Indigo," the well-informed Hollander writes:—

"I have now written at length of the Indigo bearing the name of Bayana which for the last four years has been very closely brought up both by us, by Armenians and by Moguls, the latter classes (Armenians and Moguls) export it to Ispahan whence some of it goes to Aleppo. In six years the English have not bought more than 600 bales, because owing to bad luck, adversity and mismanagement, their commercial position has greatly deteriorated, but if they began to buy against us, as they would like to do if they had the money, indigo is likely to rise in price.

famous Mirza Zul-Qurnain, who had been brought up in the royal seraglio with Shah Jehan, as stated on the second page of this Paper.

Where could Tavernier have got the name Corgia from, is very strange, for it is not an Armenian name, and Mirza Zul-Qurnain, who was the person he alluded to, was not known by any other name from his youth to the time of his death which occurred in 1656.

As clever and skilled artisans, the Agra Armenians achieved success in the art of building and in the casting of huge cannons.

In the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, there are the graves of two brothers, the sons of one Gregore (Gregory) the "Master Builder," who I am inclined to think took part in the building of the Taj and of the other architectural master-pieces of Shah Jehan.

There is also in the same cemetery the grave of an Armenian, who, according to the inscriptions in Armenian and Persian on his tombstone, was an expert in the art of casting cannons and it was he who cast the famous gun, called "Zamzamah" (literally "Hummer" or "applander", but the word also means a "lion's rear") for Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Afghan invader of India after Nadir Shah. The Armenian inscription on the slab, which covers the mortal remains of the expert gun-maker can be translated as follows:—

"This is the tomb of Ustad (Master) Shah Nazar Khan, the son of Allaverdy of Qaiquli, who was an expert in the casting of cannons and who departed to the Lord with a good faith on the 25th April in the year 1784."

The inscription on a perpendicular marble slab, fixed at the head of his grave, in beautiful Persian verse, is as follows:—

شاه نظر خان آنکه نامش شهره آفاق بود
 منعش در توپ ریزی عزت لقمان فرود
 چونکه او را با مسیحا بود حسن اعتقاد
 رفته در بهر سجودش جانب چرخ کبود
 هاتف غیب از سر حسرت پی تاریم او
 گفت پابوسی جناب حضرت عیسا نمود

It can be rendered into English thus:—

Shah Nazar Khan, he whose name was world-famed and in the craft of casting cannons he added to the excellence of even Laqman (7). Since he was a believer in the Messiah, he went for obeisance to the blue sky [heaven].

A voice from the unknown mournfully said the following verse giving the date of his death. "He has kissed the feet of Jesus."

(7) Loqman is supposed to be the inventor of cannons.

According to the *Abjad* system of reckoning the date of the death of Shah Nazar Khan is to be found in the word "Isa" (Jesus) which, when calculated, gives the year 1784 A.D.

And about the same time that Shah Nazar Khan, the Armenian, was casting terrible guns at Lahore for his master, Ahmad Shah Durrani, his famous countryman, Gorgin Khan, the Armenian Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Kassim of Bengal (1760-1763), was casting equally formidable guns for his master at Monghyr, which clearly shows that the Armenians, apart from being eminent merchants in India, have, in the past, achieved success in the art of war and in the manufacture of huge and unique pieces of ordnance like the great gun, the "Zamzamah," which shows that the martial spirit of the race was still alive in them despite the terrible and unheard-of persecutions in the land of their ancestors at the hands of the blood thirsty Tartars, Saracens, Persians and Turks.

Of the many guns cast by the Armenian Shah Nazar Khan at Agra and Lahore, the only one in existence at the present day is the famous "Zamzamah" which is to be seen at the Central Museum, Lahore, facing the Sadr Bazar, in which position it was placed on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Lahore in 1870.

There is a crude picture of the gun in Syed Muhammad Latif's "History of Lahore," but Kipling gives a beautiful photographic illustration of it in his "Kim," in the opening chapter of which he says: "who hold Zam-Zammah, that fire-breathing dragon, hold the Punjab; for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot."

The following inscription is to be seen round the muzzle of the gun:

بامر دُر دُوران شاه ولی خان وزیر
 ساخت توپ زمزمه نام قلعه گیر
 عمل شاه نظر خان

Which can be translated thus:—

"By order of the Emperor Durri Dowran, Shah Wali Khan the Vazir,
 made this gun, named Zamzamah, the capturer of strongholds.
 The work of Shah Nazar Khan."

On the back of the gun, right in the middle, there is a long Persian inscription of which the following is a translation:—

"In the reign of the Emperor, possessing the dignity of Feridoon,
 Dispenser of Justice robed in equity—
 In the reign of his present Majesty Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Duran,
 A Prince occupying a throne mighty as Jamshid's.
 There was issued unto the Chief Vazeer,
 From the threshold of His Highness,

An order to have cast, with every possible skill,
 A gun, terrible as a dragon, and huge as a mountain,
 (Yea, the order was given) to his heaven-enthroned
 Majesty's devoted servant,
 Shah Wali Khan Vazeer.
 So in order to effect this great achievement,
 The Master-Workman [Shah Nazar Khan] called up his endeavours,
 Till with consummate toil was cast,
 This wondrous gun Zamzamah.
 A destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven,
 Under the auspices of His Majesty.
 I enquired of reason for the date of this gun,
 Reason angrily replied,
 ' If thou wilt give thy life in payment,
 I will repeat to thee the date '.
 I did so and he replied:—" What a gun is this!
 The form of a fire-raining dragon '."

According to the *Abjad* system of reckoning, the last lines give the chronogram of the date of the casting of the gun which is 1174 A.H. or 1761 A.D.

The Zamzamah " was used by Ahmad Shah Durrani in the famous battle of Panipat in 1761. After the battle, on his way back to Kabul, he left it at Lahore with his Governor, Khwaja Ubed, as the carriage to take it to Kabul was not ready. The other gun he took with him but it was lost in his passage of the Chenab.

After the departure of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the great gun came into the possession of the Sikh Sardars of the Bhangi *misl* (hence its name " Bhangianwali toph "). It came to be regarded as a talisman of supremacy among the Sikhs. Eventually it came into the possession of Ranjit Singh and it was used by him at the siege of Mooltan in 1818.

It is made of a mixture of copper and brass, obtained by *Jazia*, a metal vessel having been taken from each Hindoo house at Lahore. The gun is 14½ feet in length, exclusive of the casemate, the aperture of the bore being 9½ inches.

Few visitors to Agra know of the existence in that historic city of an old Christian mausoleum which has for over three centuries withstood the ravages of Time and the elements, to say nothing of the vandalism of the Jats or the fanaticism of Shah Jehan, who, at the instigation of his favourite queen, Mumtaz Mahal of Taj fame, laid sacrilegious hands on the places of Christian worship which had been erected at Agra and Lahore by the good Jesuit Fathers during the halcyon days of the tolerant Akbar and his equally liberal-minded son Jehangeer.

This Mausoleum which is not built of marble, like the world-famed Taj, is nevertheless the *oldest* Christian structure in Northern India, having

been erected in 1611 at the old Armenian Cemetery (8) of Agra over the grave of a very wealthy, and a highly pious and charitable Armenian merchant, Khojah Martyrose by name. And as the name Martyrose means a *Martyr* in the Armenian language, the place has been called "Martyr's Chapel," which is a misnomer, if not misleading, as the Armenian merchant Martyrose who lies buried in that Mortuary Chapel, did not win a Martyr's glorious crown.

It is an octagonal building of masonry surmounted by a beautiful dome with a cross on the cupola over the dome.

As you enter the chapel, you will find, on the right hand niche, two mural tablets of sandstone, one with an inscription in Armenian at the head, and the other with a Persian inscription at the foot of the grave of the pious Armenian merchant, both being in a fairly good state of preservation despite their great age. The Persian inscription is as follows:—

اینجا مدفونست خواجه مرتینس ارمنی مقدسی
که خود را غلام کریستن می گفت و چون
صاحب خیر بود هرچه با خود داشت بذکر
آنحضرت بفقرا ایثار کرد
یک هزار و ششصد و یازده از تولد حضرت عیسی

The inscription in Armenian is as follows:—

ՀԱՆԳԻԱՒ Ի ԱՅՍ ՏԱՊԱՆՍ ՓԻՐԲԱ
ՀԻՆ ՈՐԴԻՆ ՄՂՏԵՍԻ ՄԱՐՏԻՐՈՍ ԶՈՒ
ՂԱՅԻ ՎԱՂՃԱՆԵՑԱՒ Ի ԱԿՈԱՅ
ՔԱՂԱՔԻ ԵՒ ԱՊՐԱՆՔՆ ԵՏ ԱՅ ՎՍ ԻՒԻ
ՀՈԳՈՆ. ԹԻՎ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՌԿ:

(8) In this extensive Christian cemetery, lies buried, amongst other notable Europeans and Jesuit Fathers, John Midnall or Mildenhall, the *first* and the *only* Englishman that saw Akbar the Great. Midnall died at Ajmere in 1614 and as there was no Christian cemetery in that place, his body was removed by the good Jesuit Fathers and interred in the Armenian graveyard at Agra. The Portuguese inscription on the red sandstone tablet at the head of his grave is as follows: "JOA DE MENDENAL, INGLES, MOREO AOSI.....E. JUNHO 1614." When I last visited the cemetery in December 1929, on my return from the Gwalior Session of the "Indian Historical Records Commission," I was pleased to see that the Archæological Department had at last placed a white marble slab over his grave with a suitable inscription in English. This was not there in 1919, when I was deciphering and copying the large number of Armenian inscriptions in that historic cemetery.



MARTYROSE'S CHAPEL

Built in the Armenian Cemetery at Agra in 1611, as a Mausoleum over
the grave of a rich Armenian merchant, Martyrose by name.

There have been several translations of the Persian inscription since 1876 by Dr. Fuhrer and others, but none of them have been rendered into English correctly, as will be seen presently, but the Armenian inscription, is being translated here for the *first* time and it is as follows:

"In this tomb rested the pilgrim Martyrose, son of Pheerbashee of Julfa. Died at the city of Agra and gave his goods to God for his soul, in the year 1060 of the Armenian era."

The Armenian era commenced in the year 551 A.D. so that the year 1060 of that era will be 1611 A.D. which corresponds with the date given in the Persian inscription.

In this connection I may mention that the Archæological Department have, in the interests of archæology, placed a white marble slab over the grave of the Armenian Martyrose, with the following inscription, which is a translation, though not a correct one, of the Persian inscription at the foot of the grave and it runs thus:—

"Here lies holy Khwaja Mortenepus, Armenian, who was a professed disciple of Christus and who was a righteous man, whatever he had he gave in charity to the poor, in token of fidelity to his adored master. In the year one thousand six hundred and eleven from the birth of Christ".

As there are some glaring mistakes in the above translation, I shall therefore give a correct rendering of the original Persian inscription, as copied by me in 1919 and it will be thus:—

"Here lies interred the Armenian Khwajeh Martinus, the pilgrim, who called himself the slave of Christus, and as he was of a charitable disposition, he gave whatever he possessed, in charity, to the poor out of respect for the Lord. [In the year] one thousand, six hundred and eleven from the birth of the Lord Jesus".

It will be observed that in the translation of the Archæological Department, the name of the deceased, which is the most essential part of the epitaph, has not been translated correctly, for instead of the Persian "Martinus"—the Latin name for Martin or Martyrose—the erudite translators of the Archæological Department have got, I cannot understand how and wherefrom, the jaw-breaking name "Mortenepus", which is not an Armenian name at all. Then again, the Persian word "moqdesi", which means a pilgrim in Armenian, (one who has visited the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem) has been wrongly translated as "moqaddasi" which means a holy man and in the same arbitrary manner the Persian word "qolam" (a slave) has been translated as a "disciple". What a faithful translation!

Now a person who humbly called himself the "Slave of Christus"—Christus being the Armenian name for Christ—would turn in his grave if he were called a "holy man," so that the incompetent translators have done a great injustice to the memory of that humble and devout Christian by calling him "holy."

I would in this connection, humbly suggest to the Agra Archæological Department to remove the rather misleading inscription that appears on the

present marble slab, replacing it by another one with the correct translations of both the inscriptions, Armenian and Persian, as given above.

Now let us see who this pious and charitable Armenian merchant was and where he hailed from.

In his "Annual Letter" to Rome, Father Joao de Velasco, S.J. writing from Agra on the 25th day of December, 1612, says:—

"The King [Jehangeer] granted us for burying the Christians a convenient and ample ground, whither the remains of the Christians were transported amid solemn prayer on the 2nd of November [All Souls' Day]; the presents offered by the Christians for the dead were distributed among the poor, whether of the faithful or of the pagans; whatever remained was carried to the jail to comfort the prisoners, which act of charity astonished and edified the Moors [Mohammedans] not a little. Lately this place [Cemetery] was adorned with a Chapel (*templum*), erected with the alms of a pious Armenian, who, free from the bonds of wedlock after the death of his wife, went to Rome and Jerusalem on a pilgrimage to the holy places of our Redemption. From there he went back to his country (*patria*) and bestowed on the two sons, left him after his wife's death, whatever they had a right to, after which he devoted himself so wholly to God that he called himself only the Lord Jesus' little slave (*mancipium*), and did not allow others to call him by any other name. However, he travelled divers countries as a merchant, buying and selling goods, and making profits amounting to many thousands of gold pieces (*Aurei*). But all his gains he gave away to the poor or spent in other works of piety and charity, and that so faithfully that he was loth to subtract anything for his own sustenance: for, he would say repeatedly that these goods were no longer his, but the Lord Jesus', to whom he had consecrated himself.

Once, after a long time, five thousand gold pieces [gold Mohurs] were adjudged him at last in a law suit, when, to the judge's wonder, he presently distributed among the needy the money he had received; he ransomed very many captives from his own purse, relieved many in their wants, gave dowries to poor women of good character, and thus, like the Lord Jesus' very faithful servant, he spent his goods and his life. Doubtless, he deserved to enter into the joy of his Lord. He was buried in the Chapel (in *templo*) he had built, and he asked Father Xavier to write over his tomb: 'Here lies Martin (Martinus), the slave of the Lord Jesus.' This was done, and after his death all that remained of his goods was partly spent in building and adorning the Chapel, as he had ordered, partly given to the poor, whom he had appointed heirs to his property."

The above testimony from the pen of a good Jesuit priest, who evidently knew the pious Armenian merchant personally, is eloquent proof of the goodness of my noble countryman.

My learned friend, Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J., of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, who brought to light the above highly interesting letter, and to whom I am personally grateful for the valuable discovery, comments on it, in his interesting account of the Armenian Mirza Zul-Qurnain, as under:—

"Is it not pathetic that the inscription on that good man's grave should have been so long a puzzle to antiquarians, or that his good deeds should be made public again after an oblivion of three centuries? The inscriptions on his tomb, both in Armenian and Persian, are near the right-hand recess of the octagonal Chapel, as one enters. These lines, the *oldest* in the Cemetery, will have been read at times with incredulity, as a piece of vain boasting. How modest an expression they are of great realities and of the gratitude of the poor!"

This is the history of the Oldest Christian structure in the United Provinces and the Punjab and it is to be hoped that future compilers of Guide-Books to Agra will include that venerable edifice in the itinerary of the places and sites of historical and archaeological interest which are visited annually by hundreds of tourists and globe-trotters who flock to Agra during the winter months from all parts of the civilized world to see, study and admire the master-pieces of Mogul architecture—the beautiful Taj, the most magnificent tomb of Itmad-ud-dowlah, the matchless Pearl Mosque of Shah Jehan, and the majestic Fort of Akbar which bear silent testimony to the glorious achievements and the unparalleled magnificence of the Great Moguls.

Although the once flourishing Armenian Colony of Agra had almost died out by the middle of the last century, yet when the Mutiny broke out, an Armenian of Agra, Major John Jacob, the second son of Colonel Jacob of Gwalior, fought against the mutineers and laid down his life for the British cause. Another Armenian, Mr. Parsick (9) (Barsegh—Basil) who was the Deputy Collector at Agra, was sent to Fatehpur Sikri and did good service in repressing an outbreak on the part of the turbulent characters of the place and with the aid of the *tahsildar*, Irshad Ali, managed to keep the road open between Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. He organised an armed force to prevent disorder and derived much assistance from the friendly Zamindars of Nagla Sarai, Dabar, Basahra Raja, Nagar, Santha Singharpur and Abhnapura, driving off the marauding Gujars on more than one occasion and preventing a large number of the disarmed mutineers from occupying Fatehpur Sikri.

It is sad to reflect that the once flourishing Armenian community of Agra is now extinct after an existence of 300 years from the days of Akbar up to the middle of the 19th century. The only landmarks which are left in that historic city, are the numerous graves in the old Armenian cemetery where some great men lie buried. The last Armenian, one Avetis Galstaun, who was born and bred at Agra, died there about 10 years ago.

Coming nearer home, an Armenian of Delhi, Colonel Jacob by name, distinguished himself in the military service of the Scindhia whom he served faithfully and loyally for an uninterrupted period of 70 years and died, full of years and honours, on the 24th June, 1850 at the ripe old age of 95 years and 3 months.

(9) Parsick's father, Petrus, died at Agra in 1826, aged 43 years and his mother, Magdalena died in 1831, aged 30 years and they are both buried in the Armenian cemetery of Agra where their graves can be seen to this day.

He was held in such high esteem by the Scindiah that the whole city went into mourning at his death and during the funeral, which was largely attended by the nobility and the military officers of State, 95 minute guns, equal in number to the years of the veteran, were fired from the ramparts of the historic Fort.

His grave is in the Armenian cemetery of Gwalior with a beautiful tombstone bearing inscriptions in three languages, *vis.*, Armenian, English and Persian. The epitaph in English is as follows:—

Sacred to the memory of Colonel Jacob. Born 24th of March, 1755
deceased 24th of June, 1850. Aged 95 years and three months.

He commanded the first Brigade of Scindiah whom he faithfully served for 70 years.

May he rest in peace.

A beautiful oil painting of Colonel Jacob in military costume, can be seen in the Historical Exhibition which is to be opened this afternoon by His Highness the Maharajah Scindiah Alijah Bahadur. It has been kindly lent by my esteemed friend, Mr. John M. Reghelini of Agra, who is a great great grandson, in the female line, of Colonel Jacob.

Colonel Jacob was born of respectable Armenian parents at Delhi in 1755. His father Petrus (Peter) was a merchant from Erivan in Armenia and his mother Joanna, was the daughter of Elchee (Envoy) Johanness, an Armenian from Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Ispahan, the former capital of Persia, where a large Armenian colony was settled by Shah Abbas the Great in 1605. Colonel Jacob's father died at Delhi, but his grave cannot be found, as all the old Christian cemeteries and churches in that city were destroyed by the mutineers in 1857. His mother died at Agra on the 6th February, 1802 and lies buried in the old Armenian cemetery at Lashkarpur. He had two sisters, both of whom lived and died at Agra and are buried in the same cemetery where their mother is interred.

After the death of his father at Delhi, Colonel Jacob inherited, from his father's estate, a sum of five thousand rupees, which in those days was considered a fairly good heritage. A similar sum was given to his mother and his two sisters received jointly the residue of the estate amounting to five thousand rupees, according to the Armenian law of inheritance.

With the money inherited from his father, young Jacob, who evidently had no love for commerce or trade, turned his attention to military pursuits in which he was destined to achieve much greater success than in the prosaic field of commerce in which his father had laboured for several years at Delhi. It was the golden age of foreign military adventurers in India and young Jacob conceived the happy idea of following in their footsteps. He formed a military Corps and fought for the different native Chiefs on the remuneration system then prevailing in the dominions of the decadent Mogul Empire. Having attached himself to the Rajah of Burtpore, his Corps grew up daily in strength under the auspices of that Chief and for a period of three years



COLONEL JACOB PETRUS OF GWALIOR.

he did well. He then fell seriously ill and was obliged to make over the control of his Corps to one of his brothers-in-law, who being a merchant with no knowledge of military affairs, allowed the Corps to get demoralised with the result that many of the soldiers deserted and took up service elsewhere. On his recovery, Jacob with the remnants of his Corps, entered in 1780, the service of General De Boigne, who was then in command of Scindhia's army. He fought at the battle of Oojein and for his bravery, he was made a Colonel by Dowlat Rao and given the command of the 1st Brigade which was composed of 12 Regiments of infantry, 4 Cavalry, 1 Brigade artillery with 150 guns. His pay was 3,000 a month besides the revenue of the villages of Jagsowlie and Soosara which was designated "Nankar" at Gwalior. The troops under his command were paid out of the revenues of the three "illaqas" (districts) known as Ambah, Kutwall, Bhind and Attair, computed at about 18 lakhs a year, which sum was collected by him and distributed among the troops. And because he paid the troops under him regularly they held him in the highest respect and served him most faithfully, whereas the troops that were under the command of Colonel John Baptiste Filose, were always in a state of mutiny as will be seen from the following extract from the "Letters from a Maharatta Camp during the year 1809," in which it is stated that "In justice, however, to the Hindoo character, I must repeat, that where they are well treated, no people on the face of the earth are more obedient, or are more easily governed, this is even here exemplified, in the difference of behaviour between the Sipahis of the two regular brigades: those of Jacob being rarely guilty of any disturbances or excesses, while those of Baptiste are as seldom out of a state of absolute mutiny: a difference attributable chiefly to the different modes in which they are paid, Jacob holding certain lands in *Jaedad*, for the payment of his corps while Baptiste is entirely dependant on the Sarkar, and obliged to have frequent recourse to Dhurna, mutiny and other Mahratta expedients, to extort the smallest portion of the dues of himself and his troops."

Colonel Jacob held the highest and the most important position in the formidable army of the Scindiah before the memorable battles of Maharajpore and Puniar which sealed the doom of the Scindhias "irrepressible army" in 1843. In the "Rambles and recollections of an Indian official," Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman writes of the Gwalior army in 1833, as follows:

"The present force at Gwalior consists of three regiments of infantry, under Colonel Alexander, six under the command of Apaji, the adopted son of the late Bala Bai, eleven under Colonel Jacob and his son, [David], five under Colonel Jean Baptiste Filose, two under the command of the Mamu Sahib, the maternal uncle of the Maharajah, three in what is called Babu Baolis' campo, in all thirty regiments, consisting, when complete, of six hundred men each, with four field pieces. The "Jinsi," or artillery consists of two hundred guns of different calibre. There are but few corps of artillery and these are not considered very efficient I believe."

From an Armenian journal published at Calcutta in 1850, I find that Colonel Jacob left, after his death, an estate worth 6 lakhs of rupees in hard cash and government Securities, besides his palatial house at Naumahalla. Colonel Jacob had two sons, David and Owen, the former held the rank of a Major under his father on a salary of Rs. 1,800 per month, whilst the latter held the post of a Captain under his brother, Major David Jacob, on a salary of Rs. 900 a month.

Major David led an extravagant, luxurious and licentious life, surrounded by noted musicians and dancing girls and his stables of valuable horses and tame tigers were noted at Gwalior. He died of phthisis on the 19th September, 1848, aged 35 years, and lies buried in the Armenian cemetery at Gwalior. His widow Salbi by name, who died at Gwalior in 1893, was the daughter of an Armenian merchant of Calcutta, Pogose Carapiet by name. They had two daughters, Pherine, known as Mutrujan, who married Major Stephen Raghelini of Begum Samru's army, and Sarah, known as Chuttrujan, who married an Armenian, Shafraz Warden, of Agra. Gregory Warden, late Head Translator of the Allahabad High Court, was a brother of Shafraz Warden referred to above. Both the daughters of Major David Jacob are dead. They were alive in 1919 when I last visited Agra. It is a however source of great pleasure to me to-day to see at this historic gathering, a lineal descendant, in the female line, of Colonel Jacob, in the person of Mr. John Michael Raghelini, the popular Munsarim (Registrar) of the Agra Chief Judge's Court. Mr. Raghelini is a grandson of Mrs. Pherine Raghelini, the granddaughter of Colonel Jacob, as stated above.

In this connection I may mention that both the grand daughters of Colonel Jacob were in receipt of pensions from the Gwalior Darbar in recognition of the valuable and meritorious services of their grandfather and I am pleased to hear that my esteemed friend, Mr. John M. Raghelini, has been granted, in 1928, a *muafi* or pension of Rs. 75 per month for life, in recognition of the long and meritorious services of his great great grandfather, Colonel Jacob to the Gwalior State.

Verily merit has its reward in this progressive State, for whereas in British India and other countries, pensions die immediately with the pensioners, it is continued for generations in the enlightened Gwalior Raj.

The second son of Colonel Jacob, Captain Owen or John Jacob, left Gwalior after the death of his father in 1850 and went to reside at Agra in the large Kothi (house) in the Cantonments which is visible from the ramparts of the Agra Fort. He was very partial toward Mohammedans with whom he associated mostly. When the Mutiny broke out at Agra in 1857, he was persuaded by all his English and Armenian friends to take refuge in the Agra Fort with them, but his confidential Mematie servants dissuaded him from going so and by acceding to their wishes, he fell into the trap cleverly laid for him by those robbers, who killed him and sacked his palatial house.

Major Owen Jacob was commanding the loyal Agra troops against the mutinous Neemuch Brigade at the village of Susseva on the plain beyond Shahganj, on the 6th July, 1857, when alas! he has the *first* to fall by the hands of his Memate confidants, in whose integrity and valour to defend him to the last, he had unfortunately every confidence. His body which was mutilated beyond recognition by the blood-thirsty mutineers, was brought down to Agra and buried in the compound of his Kothi and over his grave, his widow erected a marble monument which can be seen to this day, bearing an inscription as follows:—

Sacred to the memory of Major John Jacob, late of Scindiah Army, son of the late Colonel Jacob Petruse of Gwalior. Killed at Agra by the rebels on the 6th July, 1857. Aged 43 years.

This monument is respectfully erected by his disconsolate widow and daughter. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in man.

He had an only daughter who married a Frenchman, Debeneau, who was distantly re-related to General Ventura of Ranjit Singh's Sikh Army. Their son, James Debeneau, with his wife and children lived at Sirdhana with their grandmother, Major John Jacob's widow, in rather crippled circumstances.

Helen, the pious widow of Colonel Jacob died at Gwalior on the 3rd July, 1871, aged 86 years, and was buried at the Armenian cemetery of that place next to her husband. Their only daughter, Merinjan, who had married an Armenian from Basra, Johanness Menatsakan Pogose, died at Gwalior on the 14th October, 1875, leaving an only son, by name Sarkies, who died at Gwalior, without issue, in 1897. Johanness M. Pogose, the son-in-law of Colonel Jacob, died at Gwalior in 1892, aged 85 years.

Helen, the widow of Colonel Jacob gave in 1865, a donation of Rs. 6,000 to the Roman Catholic Mission at Agra, towards the erection of a chapel at Simla, as can be seen from the following letter of the Superintendent General of the Catholic institutions.

Agra Catholic Cathedral House,
14th January 1865.

To

Mrs. Colonel Jacob,
Gwalior.

Dear Madam,

I was duly favoured with your letter of the 9th instant enclosing receipts and amounts on the Agra Bank to the amount of Rupees Six Thousand (6,000) and am very glad to say in reply that after communicating your wishes to the Manager, he has transferred the amount to my name with instructions that I may withdraw the same on the 1st January 1866, according to the Rules of the Deposits in the Bank.

It is needless to say that the above sum shall be scrupulously applied towards the building of a Chapel at Simla. I shall also take care that your name shall be recorded as a grand benefactress of the Mission and I trust that the prayers that will be offered in the said house of God, which is expected to be erected with your charitable donation, will call on you a due reward in this and in the world to come.

Imploring you the blessing of God.

I remain,
Dear Madam.
Yours faithfully,
F. LEWIS,

Superintendent General, Catholic Institutions.

Prior to her death, Helen, the pious widow of Colonel Jacob, sent to the Armenian Church at Calcutta and to the Cathedral at Julfa (Ispahan), all the sacred vessels and vestments, of great intrinsic value, which had belonged to the Gwalior Armenian Church erected by Colonel Jacob, who maintained for many years an Armenian priest at his own expense to attend to the spiritual wants of the Armenian colony at Gwalior, which at one time numbered thirty families all of whom were in the military service of the Gwalior State.

A number of Armenians served under Colonel Jacob as officers—commissioned and non-commissioned—of whom some built up considerable fortunes. One, Major Johanness, left a fortune of Rs. 500,000; another, Woskan, returned to his native town of Erivan in Armenia, and there enjoyed a life of luxury and ease. After the battles of Maharajpore and Punnar in 1843, which resulted in the disbandment of the huge army of the Scindhia, most of the Armenians quitted Gwalior and gave up their martial occupations for good.

There are no Armenians now left at Gwalior and the only vestiges of the once flourishing colony are the Armenian cemetery and Colonel Jacob's Campoo, Parade and Garden. His palatial house at Naumahalla where the Armenian Church was located, is now in the occupation of the Gwalior Municipality.

Major Johanness, better known as "Waness Sahib," had constructed an artificial tank and a well, both of which are in existence to this day at Gwalior and are known as "Waness Sahib ka talao and kooa." Major Johanness had married a sister of Colonel Jacob's wife by name Shahzadi Bisab. He died, without issue, at Gwalior on the 1st July, 1829, aged 60 years and his body was removed to Agra and buried at the Armenian cemetery there.

Before I sit down, I beg to thank the Gwalior Darbar for having given me an opportunity to place on record the deeds of my illustrious countryman

at to-day's historic gathering of noblemen, scholars, savants and distinguished officials of the Gwalior State. May I at the same time request the Gwalior Darbar to pay a tribute to the memory of Colonel Jacob by placing a portrait of the veteran soldier either in the State Museum or in the Hall of the Gwalior Municipality at Naumahalla where the "Grand Old Man" of Gwalior lived and died 80 years ago.

Peace to his soul, rest to his ashes, and may the revered memory of Colonel Jacob be cherished and kept green for ages to be in the progressive State of Gwalior, the pride of the Mahratta nation, which gave a Sivaji, a Mahadji and a Dawlat Rao to India.

MESROVB J. SETH, M.R.A.S.

An Early Historian of the East India Company.

DR. JOHN PETER WADE.

DURING the latter half of the eighteenth century there was an insistent regret on the part of the East India Company that "they knew little more of the interior parts of Nepal and of Assam than of the interior parts of China" (1), and the distinguished orientalist Horace Hayman Wilson attributed this ignorance to Assam "having been closed against the inquiries of the Company's officers by the inherent physical deformities, the barbarous habits of the people, the jealousy of their chiefs and the unwillingness of the Indian Government to sanction any enterprise of their servants which might inspire doubt of their designs in the minds of the rulers of the adjacent regions" (2). So when a contingent of British forces came to Assam in 1792 at the express invitation of the Ahom King Gaurinath Singha, the Governor-General commanded Captain Welsh who was in charge of the expedition that "no pains should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good surveys and to acquire every information that may be possible, both of the population, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants as well as the trade and manufactures, and natural productions of countries with which it must ever be our interest to maintain the most friendly communication" (3). The result of this minute from the administrative head of the Company in India was the preparation of a number of maps of Assam by Ensign Wood who accompanied the expedition as Surveyor, and the compilation of three monographs by Dr. John Peter Wade dealing with the history, geography, resources and trades of the province and customs of the people. As regards Nepal, an embassy was despatched under Captain Kirkpatrick. Capt. Welsh embodied his observations on Assam in his numerous despatches to the Governor-General (4).

Dr. Wade came to Assam as Assistant Surgeon attached to the expedition of Captain Welsh on Rs. 150 a month as we learn from the account of the expenses of the expedition published in Mackenzie's *North-East Frontier of Bengal*. Before this he had served with capacity in different places in Northern and Southern India, Berhampore, Calcutta, Benares, Surat, Chunar, and Chunar. He had published a number of medical treatises. One,

(1) *Capt. Welsh's Expedition to Assam in 1792-94* by Lt.-Col. J. Johnstone, p. 11.

(2) *History of British India*, Vol. III.

(3) *Capt. Welsh's Expedition to Assam*, quoted *ante*.

(4) The MSS. record containing Welsh's account of the government of Assam was exhibited at the Calcutta Sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission; it has been printed in Mackenzie's *North-East Frontier of Bengal*.

entitled "Prevention and Treatment of the Disorders of Seamen and Sailors in Bengal," was published in 1793, a copy of which is now in the Imperial Library at Calcutta. Another treatise on fevers compiled almost at the same time was probably unpublished, a copy of the manuscript in Wade's own handwriting being now deposited at the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta. John Laird, President of the Hospital Board at Calcutta wrote on February 15, 1796.—"Dr. Wade has at all times conducted himself with the strictest propriety and attention to his duty. His medical publications sufficiently evince his industry and professional abilities" (5). J. Fleming testified to Wade's tenderness and humanity to the sick. Besides his normal efficiency as a Surgeon, Wade was also the author "of the evacuating system which he recommends as the basis of all sound practice in the disorders of warm climates" (6). His honesty as a servant of the Company was best shown in his refusal to accept the request of the Company's authorities that he should take charge of the business concern of a particular English merchant in Assam. Wade's ground for refusal was to the effect that as a servant of the Company he should not violate the Company's general regulation prohibiting its servants from engaging themselves in trade on private account (7). Wade was a hardworking man and himself characterised his life as one of the strenuous labour. He died at Calcutta on October 14, 1802, and his remains lie buried in the Old Cemetery of that city.

During his stay in Assam, Dr. Wade collected materials for a history and geography of Assam on the terms laid down by the Governor-General in his minute to Capt. Welsh. But unfortunately none of his historical compilations saw the light of day during the life-time of the author. His papers and correspondence were handed over to the East India House by Sir John Malcolm in 1827 and passed subsequently through the editorial eclecticism of Montgomery Martin. The present article is based on the manuscript records of the India Office lent to the Government of Assam and to me.

The Wade papers at the India Office library can be grouped under three major heads,—his *Account of Assam*, *Geographical Sketch of Assam*, and the testimonials which he submitted to the Hon'ble Court of Directors on April 8, 1796, as proofs that he was not "altogether unworthy of their favour." Besides we also get there a reference to another valuable historical monograph, *vis.*, his history of the reign of Gaurinath Singha, and to his plan of compiling an account of the civil, military and ecclesiastical government of Assam.

1. MEMOIR OF THE REIGN OF KING GAURINATH SINGHA.

Swargadeo Gaurinath Singha was the Ahom sovereign at whose instance the expedition under Captain Welsh was sent to Assam in 1792 to put a stop

(5) India Office record, containing the testimonials given to Wade by his superiors, hitherto unpublished.

(6) India Office MS. records, *ibid*, opinion of Dr. W. Ross Mung, Head Surgeon at Berhampore, dated November 1, 1796.

(7) MS. record at the Imperial Record Dept., Calcutta.

to the marauding activities of Bengal berkundezes. The Captain and his Surgeon both came in personal contact with this monarch and Wade's history of his reign would have been an invaluable contemporary document. The Assamese had the great distinction of recording the events of the country as they happened, and besides his personal knowledge of the King and the Ahom court Wade had access also to the indigenous accounts of the Sovereign's reign. He completed this history in 1796, soon after the death of Gaurinath, and sent it in April 1796, to the press in Europe for printing with the approbation of Lord Teignmouth. The author wrote in his dedicatory preamble to his *Account of Assam*, addressed to Lt.-Col. Kirkpatrick,—“The curious and interesting circumstances relating to Assam are exhibited, at some length, in the continuation of the history, containing the reign of the late Monarch Swargadeo Gaurinath Singha. I have compiled the memoir of his reign from authentic documents, and despatched the book to Europe for publication in April 1796, with the approbation of Lord Teignmouth; but I have not as yet received any account of it, and not having retained a copy I am deprived of the pleasure of sending it to you.”—Kishenganj, Bengal, March 20, 1800.

The same note of regret was sounded in his epistolary introduction to his *Geographical Sketch of Assam*, dated July 4, 1802, addressed in all likelihood to the same redoubtable Colonel.—“I regret the Europe Press has not yet enable me to offer you a copy of the history of Maharajah Surgedeo, late monarch of Assam.” The author died three months after, with the result that his valuable account of the Assamese King has been lost to the world for ever. The book perhaps was never published as it is not mentioned in the numerous advertisements of books inserted in the earlier volumes of the J.A.S.B., and neither the India Office, nor the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and the Cambridge University Library has been able to offer any clue which may lead to the recovery of the original manuscript or a printed copy of the same.

The only evidence of the style and treatment of the book has fortunately been preserved for us in a few stray leaves bound with the manuscript of his *Geographical Sketch*. This fragmentary passage gives us an accurate glimpse into the character of the Prime Minister, Purnananda Buragohain, whose high-handed usurpation of the powers of the sovereign and the bestowal of high offices on his kinsmen and adherents irritated a very strong section of the Assamese, and led to several conspiracies and intrigues to overthrow his supremacy and restore the legitimate authority of the monarch. This was the subject matter of the complaint which Badanchandra Barphukan made before the British Governor-General in Calcutta and subsequently before the Burmese King Bodawpaya at Ava. This contemporary verdict on the character of Purnananda is not however accepted by the present generation of Assamese to whom he is a great statesman, and the only person who was capable of averting the impending downfall of the country. The language of this piece is *journallese*, if not epical, and approaches the sonorous rhythm

Singha, 1714-1744. The royal orders were communicated to the historiographer in the following significant terms.—“ That the histories of the King's predecessors should be compiled, the succession of Ahom monarchs mentioned in details, and the book should be called *Roo-poot*; that the history should only contain the names and transactions of the Swargadeos or Ahom Kings.”

Wade's account deals also with the history of the three successors of Siva Singha,—*viz.*, Pramatta Singha, 1744-51, Rajeswar Singha, 1751-69, and Lakshmi Singha, 1769-80. It commences with the usual legendary account of the descent of the Ahoms into Assam. Separate chapters are devoted to the kings of ancient Kamarupa, of Cooch Behar and to the Mogul wars of Assam, and the functions of the state officials. For the reign of the Ahom kings from the earliest times to Siva Singha, Wade's source-book was certainly the *Roo-poot*; and for the rest he must have consulted the Assamese chronicle subsequently presented to Capt. Welsh, as we have ourselves come across buranjis dealing with the same subjects a copy of which was the original before Dr. Wade.

Wade's translations are generally faithful; but they do not constitute a history in the modern sense of the term. The Assamese buranjis, whether in popular Assamese or in Ahom are mutually supplementary, rather than exhaustive. One buranji does not, for example, a particular detail in the evolution of a historical theme or make only a casual reference to it; this missing link will be taken up by another chronicler who will do ample justice to it, and elaborate it into thirty folios. This varying sense of proportion is due to the social and political environments of the compiler, the audience for whom his account is intended, no less to the fact of his possessing other buranjis which fully deal with the detail which he passes over. The scientific historian will have to collate his materials from as many buranjis as possible, and from other sources of information, such as epigraphic, numismatic and literary records. The importance of Wade's compilation lies in its being an invaluable source-book written from materials recorded in a language which was then far beyond the comprehension of any servant of the East India Company.

Wade was not satisfied by merely translating the original Assamese documents. Here and there he has adopted the interpretative method with the help of the information personally acquired during his stay of eighteen months in Assam. The following passage describing the functions of the Phukans could never occur in any Assamese buranji of those days.

“ In some respects the Phukans resemble the Judges of Israel. They not only command the armies, and minister the justice of the Kingdom, but also have a principal share in the public councils. Their opinions are received on all affairs of importance in the presence of the Monarch. This privilege, however, is confined to a decoration of their sentiments, for they possess not an effective vote like the Gohains. Yet the opinion of an eloquent man frequently influences the decrees of the Gohains. Eloquence

surround my dominions. I proposed the reduction of the provinces contiguous to the Karatoya river, but my design will perish with me, for who will be found capable to pursue my plans?"

As we have said, Dr. Wade ends his history in the events of the reign of Lakshi Singh, 1769-1780, the youngest son of Rudra Singha. But Gaurinath Singha 1780-1795 with whom our author came in personal contact has not been ignored. We learn from the introductory letter addressed to Lt.-Col. Kirkpatrick that our author had separately compiled the memoirs of Gaurinath Singha's reign from authentic documents, and had despatched the book to Europe in the month of April, 1796, with the approbation of Lord Teignmouth. But our author regrets that he had not received an account of the monograph, and not having obtained a copy he could not present one to Lieut.-Col. Kirkpatrick.

The second part of the book is devoted entirely to the origin and history of Kamrup from the earliest times down to Captain Welsh's expedition. The reigns of the descendants of Biswa Singha in Cooch Behar and elsewhere have been detailed elaborately. The chronicle is brought down to Krishna Narayan the claimant to the kingship of Darrang, who came in conflict with Captain Welsh. Reference is also made to the insurrection of the Moamarias in Darrang and of Haradatta in Kamrup.

The third part deals with the wars between Assam and Bengal, including the expeditions sent to Assam at the instance of the Emperor of Delhi. Fourteen expeditions were despatched from Bengal and Delhi to bring Assam within the pale of Mogul sovereignty, but never could the Imperial invaders secure a firm footing in the land. The valour and military craft of the Assamese people were eulogised by successive Mahomedan generals. The last Mahomedan expedition was undertaken in the second year of the reign of King Gadadhar Singha, 1681-1696, but the invaders were completely defeated in the battle of Itakhuli, near Gauhati, and had to abandon a great quantity of valuable plunders to the victors. Thus ended the long series of hostilities between the Assamese and the Muhammadans from Bengal and Delhi, and the latter never afterwards attempted to coerce or subjugate the province (9).

3. GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ASSAM.

This is by far the most important of the compilations of Wade. It deals with the divisions and districts of Assam as grouped for administrative purposes by the Ahom government. The natural products and manufactures of the country are mentioned *en passant*. He also refers to the religious institutions and social customs of the people. The chapters on the river system, vegetable products of Assam are contributions of permanent importance.

The dedicatory letter attached to the manuscript is undated, while a copy of the same found with his testimonials bears the date July 4, 1802.

(9) The book has been printed through the enterprise of Messrs. B. Sarma and R. Sarma though its publication has been hanging fire for some time past.

He had already submitted his *Account of Assam* in March 1800. The letter begins,—“Permit me to send you a few sheets on the Geography of a Country entirely unexplored by Europeans before the late Deputation, which I had the pleasure to attend. These pages are chiefly translations from original documents in the Assamese language; but partly derived from the information of intelligent natives and partly from my own observation. Should these communications prove acceptable, I shall hope in a short time to present you with some account of the Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical Government of that Country which you will probably find more interesting than a full geographical detail.” From the last sentence it is evident that Wade collected materials also from a systematic survey of the secular and religious institutions of Assam, besides the three books already mentioned. The materials which Dr. Wade had collected as the basis for this fourth compilation have now been lost, while in his history and geography of Assam we find only a few scraps of information on the subject reserved for full treatment in the book contemplated. The reason is obvious. Wade died a few months after writing the above letter and naturally the notes he had collected for the book could not be given a definite literary shape.

The manuscript of Dr. Wade's *Geographical Sketch* represent the author's first draft, embodying the notes which he took from his informant, an Assamese Pundit, and from the original Assamese documents referred to in the above letter. Some chapters are however, available in an improved fashion, evidently representing the author's final version. The comparative finish of the final version as contrasted with the crudeness of the earlier one will be evident from the following extracts relating to Haboong reproduced verbatim:—

First Draft:—“Long $1\frac{1}{2}$ day broad 3 *prahars*, better soil than the other, more rice, much more *tambool pan* and *Moogah*, much cuttal fruit, inhabitants chiefly Brahmuns, who cut fodder for Surgeedeas elephants but he liberated them from such menial services they refused the compliment saying their ancestors had employed so and they must. 1 man here can eat at one meal the seeds 3 jackfruits, 2 seers of chaul, very fat and large people, with big bellies, wear very thick and large Brahminical strings the size of ropes of cotton, two tamools sell for one cowree, 40 *pans* large for 5 gundas. The Burrooah gives justice here.”

Final Version:—“Contiguous to Guzllong, still in an easterly direction lies Haboongh, which is thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. The district is remarkable for the superior richness of the soil, and for the industry, size and appetite of the inhabitants.”

We have two versions only in the case of Wade's description of the two major divisions of the Province, Uttarkul and Dakshinkul, and of the rivers of Assam. With regard to the rest only the first draft is available. It may be mentioned here that the earlier version contains a larger mass of information. Besides it has an archaic *naivette* of its own, being representative of the unsophisticated methods adopted by the Assamese people of the later eighteenth century in describing places and men. The second

version is also available in print in Montgomery Martin's "Eastern India," Vol. III, pp. 637-640. Martin, whose eclectic methods have been seriously questioned in recent years adds the note:—"In order that the Assamese country may be better known, I insert here Dr. Wade's descriptive geography—from papers deposited by the late Sir John Malcolm in the Library of the East India House in 1827," p. 625.

The plan of the book has been set forth in the prefatory pages, but it underwent material variations in the actual drafts. Several sections which were outside the purview of the original plan found place in the narrative, while several topics contemplated in the plan has been left out altogether. The plan was to deal with the following subjects:—

Part I.—Divisions of the Kingdom.

- A. Uttarkul, or the Northern Division;
- B. Dakhinkul, or the Southern Division;
- C. Majuli or the great island;
- D. Sub-divisions,—(a) Upper Assam;
(b) Lower Assam.

Part II.—Rivers of Assam.

- A. Rivers flowing from the Northern Mountains.
- B. Rivers flowing from the Southern Mountains.
- C. The Brahmaputra and its branches.

Part III.—Frontiers of the Province.

- A. Western Confines.
- B. Northern Confines.
- C. Southern Confines.
- D. Eastern Confines.
- E. Neighbouring Nations.

The first two parts are now available in the original manuscript. They have also been reproduced in Martin's "Eastern India." There is no trace of the third part except a few disjointed notes on the Mikirs and the Manipuris. This omission has, however, been compensated by the inclusion of notes on sundry topics here and there, which did not find any place in the original plan, the most important being the author's dissertation on the natural history of Assam, being notes on "vegetables collected October 6th," which contain accounts of *endi* and *muga* silkworms besides others. Under this head of nondescript matter can be included the author's account of the Queen's death and burial at Gauhati; the funeral of Gosains; anecdotes of Kabir Gosain, "a Muhammadan much revered by all the Hindoo who sing the hymns of his composition," during whose residence at Hajo "a temple was formed by God"; route from Bengal to Ava through Assam; itinerary of Captain Welsh's expedition to Assam in 1792; princes of the southern provinces; names of chowkis or military and commercial outposts; Turner's Bhutan and Tibet; translation of a portion of the story relating to the origin of the name *Nilakantha*. The last few leaves of the book contain

Dr. Wade did not live long to compile a history of Assam on scientific lines. No one was more conscious of the shortcomings than the author himself. His contact with Assam lasted for only eighteen months. The busy demands of his professional duties left him little leisure for historical pursuits. To this should be added the difficulty of finding a man at that time who knew English and Assamese. He must have received information from his Pundit in Hindi which was foreign to both the informer and the informed. He wrote in his preface to his *Geographical Sketch*.

"Exclusively attached until the period in question, to the study and the practice of my profession. I had not acquired the requisite and scientific accomplishment which might have rendered my opportunities of acquiring geographical knowledge of more utility to government or to the public, yet I shall venture to hope that that the general and unscientific sketch of the country contains in the following sheets will not prove entirely unexceptionable when it is considered that no Europeans have ever explored or probably ever will explore the provinces of Assam, with the consent of the government of that country."

Yet we have in the pages of this indefatigable doctor a mass of information which will be of invaluable help to all future workers in the field of Assamese history, as they were written by a critical western scholar who was at the same time an eye-witness of the existing machinery of the Ahom government, before the catastrophic disruption brought about by the Avanese hordes of Mingimaha Bandula.

S. K. BHUYAN.

Revenue Administration of Berar in the reign of Aurangzeb (1679 A.D.)

1. In this short note it is intended to describe the revenue system and its administration in the Subahs of the Deccan in the middle of the long reign of the illustrious Emperor Aurangzeb. Accounts sheets of Papal, a small pergunah of Berar, prepared for the year 1090 *Fasli* approximately corresponding with the year 1679 A.D. have been taken as basis for discussion. These sheets are original and are deposited in manuscript in the Collection of the Sharadashram, Yeotmal, and were secured from the family of the Deshpandia of the pergunah, which was responsible for collection of its revenue and for the maintenance of its account. This fact will speak for the veracity of the account sheets above referred to.

2. Malikambar, the famous Abyssinian Minister of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom, had tried to improve the condition of the agriculturists of the Province but devastations caused by famine and the incessant wars made the country desolate and the condition of the peasantry very precarious. The same state continued also up to the reign of Shahjahan, so much so that the officers could realize hardly one third of the assessed revenue at the time when Aurangzeb assumed charge of the Viceroyalty of the Deccan for the 2nd time. The Mughal possessions in the Deccan were then a heavy burden on the Mughal Empire as it was often times, necessary to have a demand on the treasury of the Empire for maintenance of the Mughal rule in the Deccan. Aurangzeb was sent to the Deccan as Viceroy in 1633 A.D. with a special mission of improving the condition of the Deccan Subahs by encouraging agriculture, which was the only source of income to the people and hence to the State.

3. Nearly such was the state of the country and people in the Deccan when Aurangzeb came there as its Viceroy for the 2nd time. Along with him came Murshid Quli Khan as a Dewan of Balaghat. After three years of his stay, charge of his was extended to the Payanghat also and thus he became Diwan of the whole of the Mughal Deccan. Efforts of these two noble personages led to the improvement of the Deccan and both the State and the people were benefited by the general prosperity, which was the result of the revenue system and administration introduced by them in the above province.

4. The new Diwan's reform consisted in extending Todarmal's revenue system to the Deccan. He could have achieved nothing without the full

Improvements made. support of Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan. The first work, they had to do, was to attract the scattered people to populate villages and restore them to normal life by giving them concessions. Village officers were reinstated or newly appointed. The ryots were given *Takavi* from the public treasury for purchase of seed bullocks, other needful material of agriculture and even for making embankments for irrigation, where necessary, the *takavi* loan being recoverable at the harvest time by easy instalments. Everywhere wise Amins and honest Surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked-out holdings, and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water courses. The land was measured by chains and record of holdings was made. The introduction of system for recovery of Revenue, also inspired into the ryots a spirit of confidence and this led to the increase of revenue as a natural result of these improvements.

5. It was only at the backward part of the country that the old system of recovery, on the basis of a plough, was allowed to exist but there too, a peasant knew what proportion he had to pay as revenue. At many other places a system of metayership or sharing of the actual produce was introduced. For this there were

System of revenue collection.

three rates—

- (i) where the crop depended on rainfall, the State took one half of it,
- (ii) where agriculture depended on well irrigation, the State took one-third of grain and one-third to one-fourth in other high priced crop which required vast labour and expenses.
- (iii) where the field was irrigated from canals, the proportion of revenue to the crop varied from the revenue of well irrigation, according to special circumstances sometimes lower and sometimes higher.

Third system of collection of revenue was copied from the system prevalent in the Northern India. The Revenue at the fixed rate of so many rupees per bigha was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed time to harvest and its market price, and actually measuring the sown area. Hence its name of *Jarib* (survey). Under Murshid Quli this became the prevalent system in the subahs of Mughal Deccan, and was known for centuries afterwards as "the dhara of Murshid Quli Khan." This excellent system, with constant vigilance and supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of revenue in few years.

6. Even after the ascension of Aurangzeb to the Throne of Delhi as Emperor, the same revenue system prevailed and under the regime of the later subahdars the Mughal Deccan came into prosperous condition on account of the well established rule of the Mughals. 1679 A.D. the year, to which the revenue statement under consideration belongs, was approximately the 21st year of the reign of Aurangzeb and the Province of Berar, in which the *perganah* of Papal was included, was enjoying full prosperity under the efficient Mughal rule. The revenue statement discussed below will bear testimony to it.

System continued in Aurangzeb's reign.

7 bighas and 16 pands was land of dry crop (jirat) and 20 netans 1 bigha and 20 pands as garden land. Total area of the village was again divided as below:—

585 netans, 7 bighas and 9 pands as Khalsa land and 147 netans 1 bigha and 9 pands as inam land. Of the Khalsa land 146 netans 5 bighas and 3 pands was grazing land. 16 netans 8 bighas and 16 pands was garden land while 422 netans 2 bighas and 10 pands was jirati land and 3 netans 1 bigha and 1 pand was garden land.

The inam land was distributed among the officers as follows:—

Deshmukh held land measuring 64 netans 6 bighas 5 pands out of which one netan was garden land. Deshpandia held 7 netans 4 bighas 10 pands, out of which 4 bighas and 10 pands was garden land. The Mukadam held 68 netans 4 bighas and 4 pands out of which 1 netan 5 bighas and 16 pands was garden land. Out of this inam land 6 netans 4 bighas and 10 pands was described as charity (khairati) land and it was held as follows:—

4 netans by Qazi of the pergana and 2 netans 4 bighas and 10 pands by the Joshi or Hindu priest of the pergana.

10. The whole land of the village was again divided for the purpose of assessment, into two parts *viz.*, land measuring 141 netans 4 bighas and 5 pands as unculturable land while land measuring 591 netans 4 bighas and 13 pands was culturable land. Out of the culturable land measuring 9 netans 4 bighas and 10 pands was exempted from assessment as Inam palnuk (protected inam). Out of this land 7 netans 4 bighas and 10 pands were with the Deshpandia and 2 netans were with the Qazi. Now the remaining culturable land measuring 582 netans and 3 pands was again divided into three grades for the purpose of assessing it on different rate:

Division of land
for the purpose of
assessment.

Land measuring 19 netan 2 bighas and 12 pands as garden land. Land measuring 535 netan 3 bighas and 17 pands as purely dry crop land, land measuring 1 netan 6 bighas and 3 pands as irrigated land and land measuring 25 netan 5 bighas and 11 pands as temporary irrigated land.

Thus the whole culturable and assessable land was assessed to 10635 Takas and 44½ dams.

11. Now though the whole culturable land exclusivt of Palnuk Inam, was assessed to the above amount, the whole land did not fetch revenue as already mentioned; some land was granted as Inam, so the assessment to that land was remitted to the inam holders.

Exemption from
assessment.

The total remission comes to 10 p.c. of the assessment of the Khalsa land, *i.e.*, 966 Takas 47 dams are remitted, while 9666 takas and 45½ dams are total recoveries. Out of the remitted amount 290 Takas 3 dams are remission to Deshmukh and 676 Takas 44 dams are remission for lands of Mukadams, Qazis, Joshis and also the land which was uncultivated or grazing reserve land.

to 2 Takas per bigahs. In addition to the Inam land, the Deshmukh, Deshpandia and Mukadam were receiving cash allowance from the revenue at the rate of nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

15. Discussion of the above statement shows that the land was measured, the revenue was settled and the regular statements were submitted, Conclusions arrived at. so as to form a definite idea of the revenue which was received by the State or by its Jagirdars.

16. There is a vast field for research about the revenue system and administration of villages in the various reigns and dynasties of different periods in as much as such revenue statements are available in the families of Deshpandias and Moharirs who were responsible for keeping accounts of the pergunahs and for submitting revenue statements to the Subadars. Attempt to secure these statements and other records. These statements and other records are in neglected state in such families and unless efforts are made to secure them and to make them available for studies by scholars they will be permanently lost. The Shara-dashram of Yeotmal has made a beginning to secure such statements and other records and the whole collection of the institute is at the disposal of scholars who desire to make its use.

17. We conclude this short note with a grateful acknowledgment of the fact that the introductory portion of this writing has Acknowledgment to Sir J. N. Sarkar. been composed on the basis of the information about condition of revenue in Berar by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his first volume of Aurangzeb. We can not obtain such reliable and first hand information anywhere else. Sir J. N. Sarkar has made use of the Persian records which were prepared in those times and in as much as Berar was under the sway of the Mughal Emperors, we know very little about the administration of Berar from the published Marathi writings.

Y. K. DESHPANDE.

Father Henry Roth, S.J. (1650-51).

FATHER HENRY ROTH, who died at Agra, June 20th, 1668, was originally destined for the Mission of Ethiopia (Abyssinia). A Latin instruction sent him by the Very Rev. Fr. General, Francis Piccolomini, throws light on the question. It is dated July 2nd, 1650, and must have come into Fr. Roth's hands before he left Ingolstadt.

We meet in this instruction with an allusion to Fr. Torquatus Parisiani, an Italian Jesuit, who had been sent to Ethiopia. For the better understanding of the text we premise a few words of comment.

The Mission of Ethiopia, which, like the Mission of the Moghul Empire, formed a dependency of the Jesuit Province of Goa, was at that time closed to Catholic Missionaries. However heroic in most instances, their attempts to penetrate into the country and minister to the wants of the once flourishing Catholic communities were doomed to failure, owing to the extreme vigilance of the schismatics and of the Arabs, then masters of Massouah. One of the many who thus courted danger and martyrdom was Fr. Torquatus Parisiani (1). Born at Ascoli in 1612, he had joined the Society in 1640. He had sailed from Lisbon in 1645, and left Goa in 1647 to fulfil his arduous mission. Fr. John Marucci, in his Relation dated Goa, April 1649, and translated by Fr. Jacques de Machault (1651), says on p. 12: "From the Mission of Salcete (Salsette) is being sent into Ethiopia a Father from the town of Ascoli. He has lately come to India and has a remarkable facility for learning languages."

Fr. Alexander de Rhodes, while on his homeward journey, met him at Surat about the end of 1647, and lived two or three months with him at the residence of Fr. Zeno, the Capuchin Missionary of Surat. Parisiani had come with three other Jesuit Missionaries, who were to proceed to Agra: Frs. Anthony Botelho, Anthony Ceshi and Henry Busi.

"The fourth," writes Fr. de Rhodes, "was Fr. Torquato Parisiano, an Italian, who came disguised as an English merchant and was going to the harbour of Suaken, on the frontiers of Ethiopia, to succour the poor Christians of that afflicted Church. He brought them even some temporal aid which His Lordship, Alphonsus Mendez, Patriarch of Ethiopia, sent them. The English, who knew the design of this good Father, favoured him so well that they not only took him into their ship, but, when they were in the country (2), they employed themselves to their utmost in his behalf. Knowing that the Mohammedans had evil designs on his life, they even saved him from their hands and placed him in safety."

(1) His name is also written 'Parisiano' in the old accounts.

(2) Suakin.

"It is useless to say the pleasure we felt all five, before the departure of the other three. Fr. Torquato and myself, we joined our efforts in combating the idolaters in their errors; but the fruit was small and our trouble almost useless

"After bidding farewell to Rev. Fr. Zeno, to whom I acknowledged myself so greatly obliged, and to Fr. Torquato Parisiano, who awaited the English vessel for Suaken, we left on the third of February (3) to go to Persia" (4).

Fr. Alexander de Rhodes reached Rome on June 27th, 1549, and the additional information received by the General about Parisiani must have been contained in the letters sent from Goa, perhaps in Parisiani's "*Breve Relatione del miserabile stato in cui al presente si ritrova l' Abissinia*" (1648), or "Short Relation of the present lamentable condition of Abyssinia," a copy of which is preserved at the National Library of Paris (No. 943).

"An instruction (of the Very Reverend Father General Francis Piccolomini) to Fr. Henry Roth when about to leave Ingolstadt for the Mission of Ethiopia (5).

"Since Divine Province has chosen your Reverence, in preference to so many other distinguished candidates, for the Ethiopian Mission, there to labour for Christ, I thought it necessary for a better attainment of this design to provide Your Reverence with this short instruction, which may be very conducive to bring about the desired end.

"1. Your Reverence not only must begin and pursue the journey in disguise, and tell no one of your character as a priest and a religious of the Society, but it will also be necessary to abstain from celebrating the Sacrifice of the Mass, when travelling through Turkey and Persia, and from controversies and discussions on matters of faith throughout the whole journey.

"2. Try to get accurate instructions from our Fathers in Smyrna or Aleppo and elsewhere, concerning the dangers, opportunities of departure and the like; do not commit the imprudence through an indiscreet zeal of throwing yourself headlong into danger. Take a moderate care of your health, do not injure it by indiscreet afflictions of the body, in order that you may be fit for the hardships of the Mission to the greater honour of God.

"3. At Mocha (6) your Reverence will carefully inquire after Master Torquatus Parisiani, a soldier (*in militem D. Torquatum Parisianum inquiret*);

(3) 1648.

(4) Cf. *Voyages et Missions du P. Alexandre de Rhodes de la Compagnie de Jésus* Paris, Julien Lanier 1854, pp. 399-401.

(5) This document was published for the first time by Fr. H. Huonder, S.J., in: *Deutsche Jesuiten Missionäre des 17. and 18. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg. Herder, 1899, pp. 213-14.

(6) Mocha or Mocha, at the S. W. extremity of Arabia.

who lives mostly with the English (*et fere cum Anglis commoratur*) and tends the Ethiopian Mission; you will obtain counsel of him and information about the condition of Ethiopia.

" 4. Should Master Torquatus Parisiano (*Parisiensis*) have gone over to Goa, Your Reverence will go directly to Diu or to Surat, where you will stay until you receive an answer from the Provincial of Goa; in the meantime you will study the necessary languages and investigate into all that relates to the Mission of Ethiopia or of Mogor (7).

" 5. Do not miss any occasion you may have of writing to us in Europe, and despatch two or three copies of your letters by different routes.

" 6. You must everywhere proceed with caution and prudence and withhold from any one an excess of confidence; by your example try to be useful to all, gain them all over to you by your serviceableness, affability and religious kindness.

" 7. You must frequently implore God's help on your efforts in the work of the Mission, nor must you be despondent if success does not answer your endeavours.

" 8. Lastly, you must arm yourself with patience to carry the Cross of the Lord, nor yet must you pour yourself out in procuring the salvation of others in such a way as to forget your own. For 'what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world . . . etc.' Think that God is everywhere present, that you are a member of the Society, a companion of Jesus in the work of spreading everywhere His glory. Let the most loving Jesus accompany all your steps and labours with His bountiful grace, and when once you have enriched yourself with many merits may He be your crown.

" 2nd July 1650."

" We possess no further data concerning Fr. Parisiani's experiences at Mocha or in Ethiopia. We know only that he was recalled to Goa, where he taught philosophy for 6 years, and for 12 years scholastic and moral theology. He became Socius or Assistant to the Provincial, Rector of Baçaim (Bassein) and Rachol, where he died on May 21, 1588 (8). Could any one decipher his funeral inscription?

Father Henry Roth left Ingolstadt in 1650 with Fr. Francis Storer. In 1651 they were at Smyrna, whence they pursued their journey viâ Ispahan to Goa. Storer was sent to Ethiopia, whilst Fr. Roth was fixed in the Island of Salsette, near Goa. Some time later, we find him acting as interpreter to the Portuguese Ambassador at the Court of a petty native Prince. In 1655, he was settled at Agra, and became Rector of the College there. In 1662, he went to Rome by way of Mekran, Karman and Ormuz,

(7) The Moghul Empire.

(8) His " Pious Commentaries on all the Gospels of the year according to the Roman Missal " "*Commentationes piae in omnia Evangelia totius anni juxta Ritum Missalis Romani . . .*," a work in 8 volumes, of which only the first saw the light at Rome in 1690, must have been the fruit of his studied leisure during his professorate at Goa. In the *Lettere* of Fr. Segneri, S.J. (*Opere*, 1855, Vol. iv, p. 415) will be found a letter from Mantua (Apr. 4, 1671) sent to Parisiani at Goa. Cf. C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, Vol. vi, Col. 376.

accompanied by Fr. John Grueber, his compatriot, who had come on foot to Agra all the way from Peking. He returned to the East in 1664, and died at Agra in 1668, at the age of 48 years. His remains repose in the Martyrs' Chapel at Agra.

Francis Storer, the companion of Roth's travels in 1650, actually reached Ethiopia. In the guise of a surgeon, he found his way to the Capital and Court of the Empire, and resided even at the Emperor's Court. He died there in 1662. Born at Constance, January 17th, 1617, he had entered the Society on September 3rd, 1635, taught Grammar and Humanities, and lectured for 6 years at Ingolstadt in Mathematics, Hebrew and Holy Scripture (9).

H. HOSTEN, S.J., and J. BOSK, S.J.

(9) For more information on the Jesuits in Ethiopia, see Fr. C. Beccari, S.J., *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo xvi ad xix*, Rome, C. de Luigi, a work which I have not seen. It is indispensable also for the history of the Jesuits in India.

The above paper is now (23-11-1929) reproduced with corrections from the defunct *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, March 13, 1907, pp. 171-172.

Anglo-Indian Women of the Past

ONE of the problems affecting the welfare of the Eurasian community is the part which womanhood plays in its social uplift. In any community, nation or race—nay among individuals as well—it is woman and woman alone that can make or break. That, in the past, women in the community did play a prominent part is seen when the history of the community is studied from this view-point. Most people, for example, may know of Mrs. Carey, the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian wife of Peter Carey, and how she shared with the others the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

Dr. Busteed, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, states that Mrs. Carey the country-born wife of Peter Carey, Mariner, was buried in the Murgihatta (Catholic Cathedral) Churchyard in 1801. To confirm this statement the entry of her burial has been traced. The following is from the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 2, 1801: "Deaths. On Saturday last (March 28) Mrs. Carey". In the Cathedral Burial Register the entry, which is in Portuguese, runs as follows: "28 Marcs de 1801 Faliceo Maria Carry (sic) fey sep. noadro de Igreja com accompanhamto: de 1 Padre," which may be freely translated thus: "28 March 1801, died Mary Carey; was buried in the churchyard, with the accompaniment of one priest." This does not give her age at the time of her death. It was 60 years, for she was but 16 when she entered the Black Hole. There is no inscription over her grave.

It is known that Lady Wheeler, who perished at Cawnpore in 1857 with her husband and children, was of mixed descent. So recent a historian as Fr. Fitchett asserts that she was a Brahman. According to the *East Indian Chronologist* (Calcutta, 1801) Sir William James, Baronet, Chairman of the East India Company, who had been Commodore of the Bombay Marine was succeeded by his son, Richard, by his second wife, an Indian lady. Sir Richard "was the first Native of Hindustan who succeeded to the hereditary honours of England."

It may be also observed that Mrs. Frances Johnson, the aged lady well-known in Calcutta a century ago as "Begum" Johnson, being the daughter of Governor Crook of Fort St. David, was not strictly speaking a "Native", although it is not altogether impossible that she may have been a Eurasian, just as Job Charnock's daughters were (of the wife that he had snatched from the funeral pyre). It may be remembered that the "Begum" was wedded to four Englishmen in succession, was the grandmother of the second Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister of England, and that her funeral in St. John's Churchyard in 1812 was attended by Lord Minto in his state-coach drawn by six horses.

The late Mr. G. W. Steevens, in alluding to the old days relates the well-known episode of Walter Reinhardt (General Sombre) and Zib-un-Nissa, better known as the Begum Sumroo. Reinhardt (1720-1778), a native of Treves, or of Salzburg, (or, as others say, of Strassburg) was a man of obscure origin, who deserting the French Army in Southern India, eventually, after numerous escapades entered the service of Mir Kassim, Nawab of Bengal, under the name of Somers. But his disposition and personal appearance gained for him the nickname of "Sombre," which again was corrupted by the Natives into "Sumroo".

It is he who is generally held responsible for the massacre at Patna in 1763. Ten years later he obtained from the Emperor Shah Alam a large grant of land at Sardhana near Meerut. He had wedded in 1767, according to Mohamedan rites, the lady who became famous as the Begum Sumroo (1730-1836). This remarkable person, who possessed, beside good looks, great sagacity and force of character, has been variously described as a Cashmerian dancing girl, the daughter of a decoyed Arab nobleman, and a Syednani or lineal descendant of the Prophet. She had no children, but Sombre by his former wife, Baha Begum, a Mohamedan woman who became insane, had a son, Nawab Zuffur Yab Khan. The son and his step-mother were both baptised at Agra in 1781 by Father Gregorie, a Carmelite monk, receiving respectively the names of Aloysius (Louis) Balthazar Reinhardt and Johanna, to which latter name she subsequently added that of Nobilis. Among other buildings she erected at Sardhana, at the cost of four lacs of rupees, a magnificent Cathedral dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Succeeding on Sombre's death to his territory she ruled there in great state, maintained an army, and commanded it in the field. At Assaye, on the side of Scindhia, she opposed General Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington); and it is remarkable that her troops although repeatedly charged by the British cavalry, went off unbroken from the battle-field.

She had taken into service George Thomas, the Irish Raja of Hansi (1756-1802), whose adventurous career is said to have suggested to Sir Walter Scott the character of Richard Middlemas in his story of "The Surgeon's daughter". She rewarded his services with the gift of Maria, a slave-girl, (or as others put it, one of her maids-of-honour) and a substantial dowry. For herself she chose as a second husband a Frenchman named Levaisseau (or Le Vassault), one of the 200 European Officers in her service. The nuptial knot was tied by the same Father Gregorie in 1793, but the match turned out to be so unpopular that a conspiracy was formed to set up Sombre's son in her place. The Begum and her husband sought refuge in flight, she in a palanquin and he on horseback. She was soon overtaken and surrounded by the rebels, and rather than fall into their hands, she stabbed herself in the chest. On the news reaching Levaisseau, he drew a loaded pistol (her gift) from the holster, and, putting its muzzle into his mouth, blew out his brains. This was in accordance with a compact that if either of them were killed the other would commit suicide. Her wound proved, however, to be superficial, which does not

quite justify another account of the story that it was merely a ruse on her part to get rid of a husband of whom she had grown tired. She was seized, hurried back to Sardhana and kept chained to a gun. From this undignified position she was rescued after several days through the exertions of M. Saleur, a Colonel in her employ, but her power passed temporarily into her step-son's hands, until it was restored some months later to her old Commander, George Thomas.

Sombre's son died a prisoner at Delhi in 1803. He had been married to Julia Anne, known locally as "Bahu Begum," the daughter of Capt. L. A. LeFeuvre and Ann, his wife. By her he had a daughter named after her mother, but known as "Begum Saheba." She married, in November 1806, a Eurasian (not "a dour Scotchman," as H. G. Keene styles him) named Dyce, who had been a ward of the Kidderpore Military Orphanage and afterwards became a Colonel in the Begum's service. In the marriage announcement the contracting parties are described as "George Alexander David Dyce, Esquire, late Volunteer in Lord Lake's Army," and "the Honourable Miss Renard, grand-daughter of Her Highness the Begum Sumroo." Colonel Dyce, who died at Calcutta in 1838, is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery, and his only son was the famous David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre M.P. (1808-1831), whom the Pope created a Chevalier of the Order of Christ, presenting him at the same time with a splinter of the true cross. By the Begum her step-great-grandson, Dyce-Sombre, was adopted and appointed her heir. His two sisters, Ann May and Georgiana, married respectively Captain J. R. Troup and Baron P. Solaroli afterwards Marquis of Briona. Dyce-Sombre's marriage in England with the Hon. Mary Anne Jervis, daughter of the second Viscount St. Vincent, 1840, led to a stupendous law-suit. He eventually eked out his days in a mad-house, while she played with his millions. She survived until 1893 and, as a widow, married Lord Forester in 1862, to whose family a goodly portion of the aforesaid millions has since passed.

The Begum Sumroo herself died in 1836, leaving munificent legacies for charitable purposes to the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Calcutta; her funeral sermon was preached by Cardinal Wiseman. Anecdotes about her having a slave-girl buried alive and being kissed by Lord Lake at a reception have been related by Bishop Heber and Colonel Skinner respectively.

It is interesting to note that the ladies who influenced the lives of Sterne and Landor were connected with India. To the names of Eliza Draper and Rose Aylmer has been added that of Kitty Kirkpatrick, the original of "Blumine" in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. This circumstance has been established by articles in the *Nineteenth Century* (September, 1892) and the *Westminster Review* (July, 1894), while the story of her parent's marriage has been related by Sir Edward Strachey in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1893. Recently the late Dr. T. O. D. Dunn contributed to the subject in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1919.

It is not generally known that the ex-Empress Eugenie of France is descended from the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn. At the opening of the last century Lieut-Colonel (then Major) James Achilles Kirkpatrick, who has a fine memorial tablet in St. John's Church, Calcutta, was British Resident at Hyderabad. There he was known as *Hashmat Jang*. (Magnificent-in-battle), while the lady who became his wife was the Khair-un-Nissa or "Excellent-among-women". Claiming descent from the Prophet, she came of good Persian stock, and was the grand-daughter of the Buxay or Paymaster of the British Subsidiary Force. An old woman, playing the part of match-maker, confided to Kirkpatrick that Khair-un-Nissa had fallen in love with him at first sight as she watched him through the purdah during some entertainment at her grand-father's house. On Kirkpatrick discouraging these advances, the girl eventually took the matter into her own hands and pleaded her own cause more successfully than her emissary had done. Everybody pretended to be shocked; and various charges levelled against the Resident, travelled up to the ears of Lord Wellesley at Calcutta, who demanded an explanation. On an inquiry being held, Khair-un-Nissa's mother confessed that it was her daughter who had taken the initiative in the matter; and Kirkpatrick settled it by solemnising a marriage contract with the youthful Begum.

Of this union was born in 1802 Catherine Aurora (better known as "Kitty") Kirkpatrick. She was sent to England after her father's death, where she met Thomas Carlyle at Edward Irving's house. "A strangely complexioned young lady," Carlyle describes her, "with soft, brown eyes, Mrs. Strachey's full cousin.....amiable, graceful, low-voiced, languidly harmonious, half-Begum, in short, an interesting specimen of the semi-oriental Englishwoman." Later on he observes: "It strikes me, Mrs. Strachey would have liked to see dear Kitty and myself together and continue near her, both of us, through life." Kitty read the passages in Carlyle's *Reminiscences*, but the object of her hero-worship was widely different person, and upon him she bestowed her hand. This was Captain J. W. Phillips of the 7th Hussars, and Carlyle then characteristically refers to her becoming "the prize of some ex-Captain of Sepoys." With the soldier, however, she could scarcely have been less happy than with the Sage; she survived till 1889 in which year she died at Torquay, aged 87. It only remains to add that there is a pleasing portrait of her in *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle* (1903).

It is stated more than once in Sir R. Temple's *Journals* kept in Hyderabad, that, after Kirkpatrick's marriage with Khair-un-Nissa Sir Henry Russell, the second Baronet and a subsequent Resident, "entered into a similar relationship with a relative of hers known as Lutf-un-Nissa."

Contemporary with Kitty Kirkpatrick was a Miss Grant, who seems to have been a great favourite in English society. She is described by a writer in the *India Gazette* for December 20, 1830, as a "pretty looking country-born girl, by no means particularly fair and whose features slightly approximated to the Malayan." The same writer mentions that at a public

followed the paternal example, the younger selecting one of the fifty-two children of Mirza Sulaiman Sheko, son of the Emperor Shah Alam and brother of the Emperor Akbar Shah. Other members of the noble house of Gardner have since followed suit; and their family tree illustrates curiously enough, matrimonial connections between an English barony, the Emperors of Delhi, the Kings of Oudh, and the Nawabs of Cambay.

Regarding his own marriage Colonel Gardner wrote to an Indian newspaper in 1825, as follows: "A Moslem lady's marriage with a Christian by a Kazi is as legal in this country as if the ceremony had been performed by the Bishop of Calcutta, a point lately settled by my son's marriage with Nawab Mulka Hummanee Begum, the niece of the Emperor. The respectability of the females of my family amongst the natives of Hindustan has been settled by the Emperor many years ago, having adopted my wife as his daughter: a ceremony satisfactorily repeated by the Queen on a visit to my own house at Delhi."

Both Colonel Gardner's wife and her sister, Khanun Zahoor-ul-Nissa, had been adopted as his daughters by the Emperor Akbar Shah. The latter princess married Major Hyder Young Hearsey (1787-1840), who apart from his military exploits (in company with Moorcroft), was the first to explore Western Tibet. She outlived her husband ten years, managing his estate at Kareli, near Budaon, where she lies buried in a garden. Near her father's house (now in ruins) at Phuligunge, Agra (opposite the gate of the Taj) she had a well dug which is marked by a tablet. Hyder Hearsey's daughter married her kinsman General Sir J. B. Hearsey, K.C.B., who in gratitude for his services during the Mutiny, has been styled, "The Saviour of Calcutta". The history of this distinguished Eurasian family has been written by General Hugh Pearse, D.S.O.

Let us turn to an officer known in our own day: Colonel Sir Robert Warburton, K.C.I.E. (1842-1899) the Warden of the Khyber, was the son of Colonel R. Warburton, R.A., who married in November 1840, a noble Afghan lady, a niece of Amir Dost Mohamed. The witnesses to the nuptial ceremony were Colonels Stuart and Jenkins and the ill-fated Sir Alexander Burnes. The certificate of his parents' marriage was preserved by Sir Robert and is described by him as a curious document. To the same family belongs Mr. J. P. Warburton, late of the Punjab Police, who is believed to be the original of Strickland in Kipling's *Plain Tales from the Hills*.

Reviewing the past history of the Anglo-Indian Community, it cannot be denied that Anglo-Indian women did take a very prominent part in its progress and welfare.

H. W. B. MORENO.

with the honorary rank of Lieutenant Colonel: and when by letters from Hastings to Nathaniel Middleton, the Resident, dated September 23, 1781 to July, 1782, all Europeans were ordered to leave Lucknow, an exception was made in the case of "Colonels Polier and Martin," although even their stay was made dependent on the will of the Nawab Wazir (S. C. Hill, *Claud Martin*, p. 47, note). In 1783 the famous de Boigne stayed with him at Lucknow for five months (Victor de Saint Genis, *Le Général de Boigne*, Poitiers, 1873, p. 50). Another guest was William Hodges, the Royal Academician. On his return journey from Agra he was seized with "a violent dysentery and a palpitation of the heart" on reaching Lucknow on May 26, 1783, but was received by Colonel Polier "with his wonted hospitality." He stayed with him for ten days, but "the house, being a large bungalow, was consequently very hot and therefore Colonel Martin who had a large brick house, had the goodness to invite me there, where I gradually recovered" (Hodges *Travels in India*, p. 146).

In a letter written to his wife on August 27, 1784, Hastings says (Grier, p. 312): "I write this from my first half-stage, having left Lucknow this morning. I shall pass the Day with Colonel Polier, and proceed to my encampment in the evening." There is a letter from Polier in the Hastings MSS. written in 1786, after the Governor-General had left India, in which he promises to bring to England with him the plan and elevation of Cleveland's monument at Bhagalpur, and mentions a *moracka* (muraqqa, scrap book or album) of oriental writings. On June 2 of that year (1786) the Military Consultations record a decision of the Council at Fort William that "Lieutenant-Colonels Polier and Martine ought not to be included in the number of twelve Lieutenant-Colonels allotted to the infantry by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. It is therefore resolved that they be put on half pay." Polier, however, did not leave India until the beginning of 1789.

Claude Martin in a letter written to Ozias Humphry, R.A., "on my way to Lucknow, Bennares, the 11th March, 1789," says that "friend Wombwell and Colonel Polier went home last January." Zoffany sailed for Europe in the same month: and the picture of "Claude Martin and His Friends," which has just been purchased for the Victoria Memorial Hall, and which represents Martin with all three of them, must have been painted as a farewell gift from Zoffany to Martin. For in an earlier letter to Humphry, written from Lucknow on October 15, 1788, Martin had said that he is "coming to Calcutta and intends sitting to Zoffany with Colonel Polier in the middle of November (1).

Polier did not return to India; he married (January 20, 1791), bought a property near Avignon, and settled there. During the Revolution the country became disturbed, and he was murdered by robbers on February 9, 1795. A fine collection of pictures was sold to William Backford

(1) Two natural daughters of Col. Polier were baptized at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on December 31, 1787, by the names of Wilhelmina and Sophia.

(1760-1844), the author of *Vathek* and the builder at a ruinous cost of Font-hill Abbey in Wiltshire: they were no doubt dispersed when the place was bought in 1822 by an eccentric Anglo-Indian of the name of John Farquhar. Polier likewise left a large collection of Oriental manuscripts. Forty-two manuscripts, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, were acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Some also of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum are from his collection. He had already on May 22, 1789, presented to that Museum his copy of the Vedas in eleven volumes. A number of the Persian manuscripts presented in 1790 to King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College by Edward Ephraim Pote, of the Company's service in Bengal, had belonged to Polier. Most of these volumes, of which there are 272 at King's College and 220 at Eton, bear either a seal with the words "Major Polier, A.H. 1181," or his autograph "Ant. Polier." The Bibliothèque Cantonale at Lausanne contains a manuscript catalogue of 120 oriental works with annotations by Colonel Polier. The work is thus catalogued: "A. 392. Polier (Le Colonel Antoine-Louis-Henri): catalogue d'une collection de manuscrits orientaux apportés de L'Inde en 1788: manuscrit en fol." A short note by Polier on the distillation of roses may be found in the *Asiatic Researches*.

Books on the Table.

The Cambridge History of India: Volume V: British India, 1497-1858: edited by Prof. H. H. Dodwell (Cambridge University Press: Thirty Shillings net).

THIS is the first of the two volumes relating to British India in this series: a later volume will be concerned with the Indian Empire from 1858 to 1918. The first volume—on Ancient India to about the middle of the first century A.D.—and the third volume (Turks and Afghans) have already been published, the former under the editorship of Professor Rapson and the latter under that of Sir Wolseley Haig. Volumes II (Medieval India, to the 11th century A.D.) and IV (the Mughal Empire from 1525 to 1757) are in course of preparation: and also Professor Dodwell's second volume which will form the sixth and last.

In his preface Professor Dodwell points out that the space which is devoted to political history has been economized as far as possible in order to make room for an outline of the administrative system, as the latter is a subject upon which easily accessible information is scanty and inadequate. We are not disposed to disagree with this decision on general grounds: but we cannot help commenting with surprise upon the fact that in order to conform to it, so important an episode as the Sepoy Mutiny should be dismissed with the barest mention in a few lines on the last two pages of the volume. There is nothing to indicate that it will find a place in the next volume which to judge by its title, will be confined exclusively to the period which immediately followed it. The omission is the more curious, inasmuch as Professor Dodwell requires 40 pages for his narrative of events from 1756 to 1772.

The first three chapters in the volume, which are written by Sir Denison Ross, Professor Geyl and M. Henri Froidevaux, deal with the efforts successively made by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French to obtain a footing in India. To Sir William Foster has been given the appropriate task of tracing in Chapter IV the history of the East India Company from 1600 to 1740. Chapters V (the War of the Austrian Succession) VII (Clive in Bengal 1756-60) VIII (The Seven Year's War) and IX (Bengal from 1760 to 1772) are the work of Professor Dodwell. Professor Alfred Martineau treats of Dupleix and Bussy in Chapter VI. We now come to the four important chapters contributed by Mr. P. E. Roberts. Chapters X (The East India Company and the State, 1772-1786) XI (The Early Reforms of Warren Hastings in Bengal) XII (External Relations and the Rohilla War) and XIII (Hastings and His Colleagues). The late Col. Luard writes in Chapters XIV on the first conflict of the Company with the Marathas (1761-1782) and later on in Chapter XXXI on the Indian States (1818-1857). Professor

Dodwell next reappears as the author of Chapters XV (The Carnatic from 1761 to 1784) XVIII (Legislation and Governments, 1786-1818) and XIX (The Exclusion of the French 1784-1815). In Chapters XVII and XVIII Mr. Roberts tells in admirable fashion the story of Chait Singh, the Begums of Oudh and Faizulla Khan, and the Impeachment of Hastings. Dr. Hutton, the Dean of Winchester discusses in Chapters XX and XXI the third and fourth Mysore Wars, and events in Oudh and the Carnatic from 1785 to 1801. The late Mr. S. M. Edwardes writes upon the final struggle with the Marathas (1784 to 1818) and Marathas administration—and these are followed by a chapter on the conquest of Ceylon by Sir Montagu Burrows, which appears to reflect very indirectly upon the history of British India. We now come to the three chapters on administration: Mr. Ramsbotham's review (Chapter XXV) of the revenue administration of Bengal from 1765 to 1786, Dr. Lilian Penson's account of the general administration of Bengal from 1786 to 1818, and Mr. J. T. Gwynn's sketch of the Madras District System and Land Revenue down to the same year (1818). Chapters XXVIII (Afghanistan, Russia and Persia) and XXIX (the conquest of Sind and the Punjab) are by Mr. W. A. J. Archbold. Mr. G. E. Harvey in Chapter XXX surveys the course of Burmese history from 1782 to 1852: and in the final chapter (XXXII) Professor Dodwell discusses the development of Sovereignty in India.

The range of subjects, it will be seen, is of the fullest character: and to attempt to appraise the relative merits of the different writers would be both invidious and improper: for each of them can claim authority to speak upon his particular topic. We must confess however to have been particularly attracted by Mr. Roberts' chapters: although we could wish that he had known of the wealth of new material in the Robinson papers at Eridge Castle, of which Dr. Sophia Weitzman has made such excellent use in her recently-published book on "Warren Hastings and Philip Francis." The more we consider the impeachment of Hastings—which Mr. Roberts rightly describes as "a calamitous mistake" which "before it had gone far developed into something like a cruel wrong"—the more difficult we find it to restrain our indignation at the thought that it should have been possible for a man of the type of Francis to put so monstrous a machine of oppression into motion for the purpose of gratifying his personal hatred. The fair course (says Mr. Roberts) would have been to hear Hastings' case and then parliament might have expressed a temperate disapproval of some of his methods, together with a recognition of the immense difficulties which confronted him and the magnificent services which he had rendered to his country. It is impossible to read an account of the trial without a feeling of disgust at the immoderate vituperation of Burke which sometimes reached "the acme of unreason and folly": It is not surprising that when a vote of thanks to the managers was proposed, one member declared that he would be willing to agree if the leading manager were excepted, "who had by his conduct disgraced and degraded the House of Commons." And yet, if Burke was to blame, there was a still greater culprit in the background whose letters show that from the

moment of his landing in Bengal, he was determined to supplant Hastings in his high office, and, failing that, to ruin him. Still further in the background there lurks the figure of Clive who is supposed to have had a share in the nomination of Francis, and who cordially disliked the policy of Hastings which was in direct opposition to the dual administration introduced by him. We should have liked to have seen this aspect of the case developed by the practised pen of Mr. Roberts.

The volume is so full of interest and value that it seems ungenerous to point out blemishes: and we have certainly not studied its pages with that object in view. But surely Professor Dodwell's geography is at fault when he tells us on page 174 that Major Hector Munro "invaded Oudh and on 22 October [1764] after a stubborn contest completely defeated the enemy at Baksar." Apart from the fact that the battle of Buxar was fought on October 23 and that Buxar is the anglicised form of Baghsar and not of Baksar, which we believe to be the name of a village in the Hardoi district, the scene of the battle was not in Oudh but in the present Shahabad district of Behar.

On page 156 Professor Dodwell summarizes in a footnote the attempt made by the late Mr. J. H. Little in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vols. XI and XII) to prove that the Black Hole tragedy was a figment of Holwell's brain and that the monument which he erected never existed. Professor Dodwell marshals his own arguments to the contrary, as he is quite entitled to do; but the summary would have been more complete if a reference had been given to the crushing refutation of the theory by Lord Curzon in Vol. XV of our review and also in his *British Government in India*.

A word of praise must be bestowed on the bibliography which occupies forty-four pages at the end, and is classified according to the chapters. Nothing seems to have been forgotten, which the student is likely to require for the amplification of his knowledge—except perhaps the Johnson papers which are in the John Rylands Library at Manchester and the Robinson MSS. at Eridge (which we have already noticed), although mention is made of the three volumes of Robinson's correspondence with George the Third, which are at the British Museum. M. Froidevaux's list of French authorities strikes us as especially valuable. We notice that he calls attention to the unpublished memoirs of François Martin in the National Archives at Paris: it is, he says, impossible to exaggerate its importance for the early history of the French in India. While it has been utilized by several writers, it has not yet been printed in full. We miss a list of publications on the Mutiny and trust that this may yet be forthcoming. The collection in the Goethals Library at Calcutta is probably as complete as any. Mention should, we think, have been made among the authorities on the Conquest of Bengal (page 623) of Mr. C. A. Oldham's account of the battle of Buxar which may be found in the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society for March 1926. It is quite one of the most important descriptions of the battle which has yet been written: and is accompanied by reproductions of contemporary plans.

The volume concludes with a useful chronological table, and a comprehensive index.

Captives of Tipu: Survivors' Narratives: edited by A. W. Lawrence (Jonathan Cape: Three Shillings and Six Pence net).

In this handy little volume Mr. Lawrence reprints three narratives. The first is that of James Bristow, a gunner in the Bengal Artillery, who came south in 1780 with the reinforcements under Eyre Coote, and was taken prisoner near Pondicherry early in the following year, while engaged in preventing the French from landing supplies for Haidar Ali. He made his escape from the hill fortress of Outtradroog in November 1790 with a party of eleven Englishmen and one Frenchman, whom he lost almost at the start, and after numerous adventures, reached the frontier of the Nizam's dominions early in 1791. His book was published at the Company's Press in Calcutta under the title, "A Narrative of the sufferings of John Bristow," and was reprinted in London by John Murray in 1794: eighty years later, in 1874, a French translation was published. The second narrative is the "Journal of an Officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment," which was published in 1788 by John Murray in the *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*. The author of the *Memoirs*, who is reputed to be either a certain William Thomson or Lieut. Alexander Read. Baillie's aid-de-camp, gives no clue to the identity of the officer from whom he says he received the journal: and nothing can be gathered from the diary of his fellow-prisoner, the Hon. John Lindsay, of Macleod's Highlanders, which is published in the third volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, and should be read in conjunction with these narratives. The officer was released in April 1784, when Bristow and Scurry, the author of the third account, were forgotten, together with many others. "The life of James Scurry, Seaman," was published in 1824, two years after his death, and like Bristow's book is difficult to obtain. Scurry sailed from Plymouth in 1780, when a boy of fourteen, on H.M.S. *Hannibal*, of fifty guns, and was captured by the *Héros* the flagship of Admiral Saffren, in December 1781, when within five days' sail of Fort Saint George. He was handed over, with other English prisoners, to Haidar Ali in 1782, and escaped with four companions from the fortress of Chitaldrug in 1792.

The narratives do not make pleasant reading: but their historical interest is undeniable. Mr. Lawrence supplies an introduction in which we notice are strange slips. Baillie, he says, came from "Circar" to meet Munro at Conjeveram in 1780. There is, of course, no such place: Baillie was at Guntur in the Northern Circars.

Malabar and the Portuguese: by K. M. Panikkar, B.A., Dixon Scholar of Christ Church, Oxford: with a Foreword by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart. (D. B. Taraporevala and Co., Bombay: Rupees Six or Twelve Shillings and Six Pence).

Mr. Panikkar is not only a historical student of repute: he is also a Nair, and as such enjoys the advantage which falls to few of being able to consult and utilize the unpublished original material available in Malayalam. There

is, he tells us an ancient custom in Malabar of keeping *grantha varies* or chronicles in the chief temples and royal families. He has had the good fortune to obtain copies of these documents, and has also had access to an historical account, in Malayalam, of Portuguese relations with the Malabar princes, which was written probably in the seventeenth century. This is, we believe, the first time that the story has been told from the Indian side. Mr. Panikkar has not, however, neglected the Portuguese authorities. In addition to the unique collection of Portuguese manuscripts at the India Office, the Academy at Lisbon has been for sometime publishing selections from the archives: and both these sources of information have been investigated.

Sir Richard Temple contributes an admirable foreword in which he not only draws upon his own knowledge for a series of fascinating glimpses of the career of such Portuguese adventurers on the Arakan coast as Felipe de Brito and Sebastian Gonsalves, but pays a well-deserved tribute to the value of the work which Mr. Panikkar has done.



GENERAL WILLIAM DALMEIDA AND HIS FAMILY

The Editor's Note Book.

WE reproduce on the opposite page a photograph of Zoffany's unfinished painting of "The Palmer Family," which hangs in the room of the

"The Palmer Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the India Office. Family."

A description of the picture was given in our last issue (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 179). We were unable at the time to obtain a copy of the photograph: and our thanks are due to Mr. W. T. Ottewill, M.B.E., the Superintendent of Records at the India Office, for the interest which he has shown in the matter. The picture was offered for sale at Willis's Rooms in June, 1925, and was subsequently bought for the India Office from the owner, a member of the family. In the opinion of at least one expert at the time, the artist was thought to have been Devis: but Sir William Foster took the view that it is the work of Zoffany, and such is the family tradition. We have already indicated the reasons for supposing that it was painted in 1786.

THE picture of "Claude Martin and His Friends" has, we rejoice to announce, been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall, and should be

on view by the time these pages are in the hands of our readers. The purchase has been made possible by the generosity of Lord Curzon who left a sum of money for the purpose of adding from time to time to the collection in which he took so deep an interest. There can be no doubt that it is one of the finest pictures painted by Zoffany: and its authenticity is beyond question. This is more than can be said for a picture which was sold at Sotheby's on January 29 under the title of "Three Indian Princesses: by Zoffany." Apart from the fact that Indian princesses, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, would hardly be likely to appear unveiled before an English artist, and the figures represented are clearly those of three dancing-girls, the legend which the owner attaches to the picture, is extremely difficult of belief. It is said that the ladies are the wives of Tippoo Sultan, and that the artist is Zoffany who spent many years in Mysore! The picture did not find a purchaser.

MENTION was made in our last issue (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 178) of another picture which has been added to the collection at the Victoria Memo-

A satisfactory identification. rial Hall. It represents a large cannon which is being inspected by two English officers in uniform: and there is a fortress with lofty walls in the background. Mr. D. G. Mackenzie, I.C.S., the Administrator of the Bharatpur State, to whom a photograph of the picture was sent, has had no difficulty in identifying the building in the background as the famous fortress of Deeg, twenty-two miles from Bharatpur, which was captured by Lord Lake in 1804 and dismantled by Lord Combermere after the fall of Bharatpur in 1826. The next step was to discover

the personality of "R.S. 1826-1836," who has plainly inscribed these initials and dates in the left hand corner of the canvas. An examination was undertaken of the roll of British Officers serving under Lord Combermere in 1826, which is given in Captain Creighton's *Narrative of the seise and capture of Bhurtpore* (London, 1830). It was found that there were three officers with the initials R.S.; and from them Major Hodson was able to pick out Colonel Robert Smith, C.B. (1787-1864) of the Bengal Engineers, as the painter. Smith repaired the Jama Masjid at Delhi when Superintending Engineer there in 1822: and published in London in 1820, while on furlough, a set of views of Prince of Wales Island (Penang), which were engraved by William Daniell. He received a brevet majority for his services before Bharatpur in 1826.

FOUR unrecorded portraits by Raeburn, of considerable Anglo-Indian interest, were sold at Christies on July 27 of last year. The portrait of The Dirom of Lieut.-General Alexander Dirom (1757-1830) realized 3,700 guineas: he is one the group of English officers in the picture by Zoffany at the Victoria Memorial Hall of "The Reception of the Hostage Son of Tippoo Sultan by Lord Cornwallis." The portrait of his wife made 6,000 guineas: that of their elder son, Colonel Pasley John Dirom (1794-1857), 5,800 guineas: and that of the second son, Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Dirom (1800-1837), 2,000 guineas. The pictures which were purchased by Messrs. Knoedler, are kitcat size and Raeburn who painted them in 1819 was probably paid 30 guineas for each of them. They had been hanging for years in a corner of the house at Mount Annan in Dumfriesshire, which was bought by General Dirom after his return from India.

TWO sales of Indian interest took place in London during the month of December last. On December 17 a copy was sold at Sotheby's of Ideas about India in 1494. Giuliano Dati's exceedingly rare pamphlet on India. "Il secondo cantare dele' India," which was printed at Rome in 1494. The woodcuts exhibit an extraordinary conception of the inhabitants and fauna of India: there are one-eyed dogheaded, and headless men, pygmies, men and women with large feet used as parasol, a winged snake, a flying panther and other strange beasts, birds and insects. The book which consists of four quarto leaves, was bought for £230 by Messrs. Maggs Brothers.

ON December 13, some fine Indian paintings of the Mogul period were offered at Sotheby's. They were described as parts of an album originally made for Shah Jahan, and included four leaves of illuminated Persian manuscript, setting forth that the best artists and scribes of the day had been commissioned for the work. From Shah Jahan the album passed into the possession of his son and successor, Aurangzeb: and the inscriptions below some of the paintings are in the

handwriting of that Emperor. The artists whose signatures are given are nearly all court painters of the time of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan: and their names constantly occur in the *Razamnamah* (1598). One of the paintings represents Jahangir standing on a globe supported by a bull which bestrides a fish, and shooting an arrow at the head of a negro transfixed on a spear. It is thus inscribed: "The Emperor Jahangir discharging an arrow into the severed head of the traitorous Malik Ambar, the Hubshi (Abyssinian) slave who rose to great importance in the Deccan": and it is signed "the work of the humble servant Murad Zadahi Bakhlas Abul Hassan." (Malik Ambar, the famous minister of the last of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar, died in 1626, the year before Jahangir, and is buried at Rauza, near Aurangabad, where the tomb of Aurangzeb also is). Another painting which is by the court painter Gobardhan represents Shah Jahan riding outside a city: and in a third Akbar is shown holding a rosary, with a lion and a heifer at his feet, and angels in the angles above. Reproductions of these and others may be found in the *Illustrated London News* of December 14. The paintings were offered in forty-eight lots, and bidding began at £500. They were ultimately sold for £10,500 to M. Kavorkian, of Paris.

WHEN Lord William Bentinck issued on December 4, 1829, the famous Regulation which declared the practice of Suttee to be illegal and punishable by the criminal courts as culpable homicide, most of his contemporaries in England regarded his action as a rash and dangerous interference with the religious customs of the Hindus. After the lapse of a hundred years, it is interesting to recall that a petition bearing 800 signatures was presented to the Privy Council, praying for the reversal of the order. The result is thus recorded by Charles Greville in an entry of July 12, 1831:—

The centenary of
the Abolition of
Suttee.

The Suttee case was decided at the Privy Council on Saturday last and was not uninteresting. The Chancellor [Lord Brougham], Lord President [Marquess of Lansdowne], Graham, John Russell and Grant, the Master of the Rolls [Sir John Leach], Vice-Chancellor [Sir Lancelot Shadwell], Lord Amherst and Lord Wellesley were present (the latter not the last day). . . . Leach made a very short and very neat speech, condemning the order of the Governor-General, but admitting the danger of rescinding it, and recommending, therefore, that it should be suspended. Sir Edward East, in a long, diffusive harangue, likewise condemned the order, but was against suspension: Sir James Graham was against the order and against suspension; Lord Amherst the same. The rest approved of the order altogether. . . . The result was that the petition was dismissed.

It will be noticed that the minority included an ex-Governor-General, Lord Amherst, an ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, Sir Edward East, and Sir James Graham, who four times refused the post of

Governor-General, the last occasion being in 1847 when Lord Dalhousie was eventually appointed. The opinion expressed by Lord Amherst is the more remarkable as Lady Amherst, in the diary which she kept while she was in India with him, observes that the rite had become a *tamasha*, witnessed by curious crowds. Mr. Grant can be identified as Charles Grant, the eldest son of Charles Grant, the famous Chairman of the East India Company; he was President of the Board of Control from 1830 to 1834 and was raised to the peerage in 1835 by the title of Baron Glenelg. Sir Edward East, whose statue by Chantrey stands on the main staircase of the High Court building, was Chief Justice from 1813 to 1822, and was a principal founder of the Hindu College.

BY an odd coincidence, Sir Edward East started on his journey West from Calcutta almost at the same time that Sir Edward West sailed for the East and West. East to take up the appointment of Recorder of Bombay, which was to lead in the following year to the office of Chief Justice. The opportunity for an epigram seems to have been lost.

BISHOP WELLDON in a letter to *The Times* of December 7, recalls the historic episode at Serampore, when the official paper containing the *Serampore Memory*. Sutttee Regulation was brought to Dr. Carey, with a request that he would translate it into Bengali. It was a Sunday morning, and Carey was preparing his sermon for the College Chapel Service. He laid his manuscript aside, asked one of his colleagues to preach in his place, and spent the day upon the work of translation.

SUTTEE in Nepal was abolished in 1921 by Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jang, the late Prime Minister, whose death was announced at the end of November last. Col. Seton Churchill, in a letter in *The Times* of December 14, mentions that in a communication to him of March 15, 1925, the Maharaja stated that infanticide was never known in Nepal, that by an enactment passed a little over four years previously, sutttee had altogether been stopped, and that steps were being taken to abolish slavery, which is now also a thing of the past in Nepal.

IT would appear from an earlier passage in Greville's Diary that the Duke of Wellington entertained a very poor opinion of Lord William Bentinck whom Calcutta has honoured with a statue and Macaulay with a laudatory inscription. On August 31, 1829, a year after Lord William's assumption of office as Governor-General, Greville (who was his nephew) makes the following entry:
From what I hear it is probable that Lord William Bentinck will be speedily recalled from India. [He did not return until 1835.]

His measures are of too liberal a cast to suit the taste of the present Government. The Duke [who was then Prime Minister] has never liked him since the war in Spain when he did not behave quite well to Lord William, and he seldom forgets old animosities; besides, he cannot bear anybody who takes a line of his own. Lord Ellenborough [President of the Board of Control], strong in the concurrence of the Duke, is inclined to be insolent in his tone to Lord William, which, I take it he will not stand. The Duke looks upon Lord William as a hasty, imprudent man with bad judgment, and I am not sure that he is very wrong. He has made himself popular by the affability and *bonhomie* of his manner, his magnificence and hospitality, and the liberal and generous character of his political opinions, but he is far from clever, and I suspect his judgment is very indifferent.

The reference to Lord William Bentinck's "magnificence" is odd: for as Macaulay's inscription has it, his tastes lay in the opposite direction: "Placed at the head of a great Empire he never laid aside the simplicity and modes of a private citizen." Victor Jacquemont, who stayed at Government House, said of him that "on the throne of the Great Mogul, he thinks and acts like a Pennsylvanian Quaker." Christina Pringle, whose letters were published in Volume IV of *Bengal: Past and Present*, notes in 1829 that Lord and Lady William kept up much less State than any of their predecessors: and Emma Roberts, in Volume III of her *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, makes almost the same comment.

LATER on the Duke was equally severe upon Lord Ellenborough. When Greville told him in January, 1843 of the arrangements which the Duke and Governor-General had made for the military parade at Lord Ellenborough. Ferozepore to celebrate the return of Nott and Pollock from Kabul—how the Army was to be drawn up in the form of a star, with the guns at the point of each ray, and a throne for himself in the centre, the old warrior broke out: "And he ought to sit upon it in a strait waistcoat." William Ritchie, who had come out to Calcutta to try his luck at the Bar, was even more disrespectful. In a letter of December 12, 1842, to his mother, he writes: "Lord Ellenborough has acquired the title of the mountebank of the Sutlej, in which I have heard Sir Lawrence Peel [the Chief Justice] acquiesce: the justice of the name I fear he but too well deserves."

EVEN more ridicule was excited by the bombastic proclamation regarding the Gates of Somnath. The visitor to Agra will find the Gates in the Fort where, as Lord Curzon puts it, they repose in dishonoured obscurity. They were certainly found at Ghazni, but they were never at Somnath; and, so far from being of Hindu origin, are a patch work of late Muhammadan fabrication. Lord Ellenborough sent a copy of the Address of which he was very proud, to Queen Victoria, with

a letter in which historical facts were absurdly travestied. He was roughly handled in the House of Commons on March 9, 1843. Although the motion for censure was not carried, the proclamation was condemned as unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible—the epithets are those used by Sir Robert Peel in his letter to the Queen: and Macaulay observed, “we have sometimes sent them Governors whom they loved, and sometimes Governors whom they feared, but they never before had a Governor at whom they laughed.”

WHAT was the meaning of the phrase “Cutcherry Hussars,” which was applied by Lord Ellenborough to members of the Civil Service? The explanation is, we believe, quite a simple one: Lord Ellenborough confused “Huzur” with “Hussar.” But another derivation is suggested in the *Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie* (edited by J. G. A. Baird, London, 1911). Writing from the camp near Sobraon on January 2, 1849, Dalhousie says:

In case you see in the news papers an absurdity about my issuing an order as to civilians’ moustaches, believe it to be a fabrication. The Civil Service are fond of such decorations, and as their place of business is called a cutcherry. Ellenborough christened them “the Cutcherry Hussars.” At some time (I presume after seeing some unusually fierce pairs) I observed that I wondered at the fancy which made an Englishman like to make himself look a Frenchman. Now in this country everything that “very magnificent three-tailed Pasha”—the G.-G.—says or does is chronicled. He can’t blow his august nose in Calcutta, but the echo of it reverberates on the Sutlej. Accordingly this very harmless remark of mine flew before me, and moustaches fell “like leaves in October” at all the stations on my approach.

In a later letter, from Calcutta on March 30, 1854, he observes that Lord Frederick Fitzclarence (a son of William IV, who was Commander in Chief at Bombay) had “given orders that the European soldiers of the Company’s Army at Bombay shall wear moustaches.”

SOME interesting particulars regarding the building of the Taj Mahal at Agra were contributed by Mr. Chandra Sekhar Das to the *Statesman* of December 29 last. They are taken from a translation by the Building of the Taj Mahal. Maulavi Azizuddin of a Persian manuscript: the book was printed at the Victoria Press, Punjab, in 1854, and a second and a third edition appeared in 1862 and 1869. It is stated that of the many plans submitted to the Emperor Shah Jahan, the one selected was that of Isa Muhammad Effendi, a celebrated architect sent by the Sultan of Rûm (Turkey). A model was made in wood: and during the next seventeen years precious stones and marbles were collected. Isa Muhammad was engaged as head master builder at a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000: and similar salaries were paid to Amarnud Khan, the illuminator who was a Persian from Shiraz, and Muhammad Hanif, the master mason, who was a native of Bagdad.

LORD HASTINGS visited Agra in February, 1815, and although he left orders for works of general repair to be carried out both at the Taj and at the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, he did not shrink from ordering the removal of the marble fittings of the Royal baths in the Palace at the Fort, as witness the following entry in his private journal which was published by his daughter Lady Bute in 1858 (Vol. II, p. 20):

A Relic of the Moguls at Barrack-pore.

I directed the marble of this chamber as well as the white marble basin of a fountain which I found in the artillery yard full of all kinds of lumber to be raised and shipped for Calcutta where they may somehow or other be employed as ornaments to the city.

Lord Curzon (*British Government in India*, Vol. II, p. 84) claims to have discovered the white marble basin and fountain in the gardens of Barrackpore House.

WE have received from Major Hodson particulars of two Calcutta centenarians. Both extracts are taken from the East India Register for, 1843. On July 12, 1842, Mrs. Lucy Patch of Fort Marlbro' died in Calcutta "at the advanced age of 106." Fort Marlborough, otherwise known as Bencoolen, was in the island of Sumatra, and was given up to the Dutch in 1824 in exchange for Chinsura and the town of Malacca. The other entry relates to Mrs. Mary Porte, "the lady of the late Col. J. W. Porte of the Mahratta service," who died in Calcutta on August 25, 1842, "aged 100 years." According to the *Bengal obituary*, however, (p. 308), she was ten years younger. Her husband, Colonel John William Porte, died at Calcutta on November 4, 1833, at the age of 60: and the stone on his monument in the South Park Street burial-ground records that he was a "pensioner in the Mahratta Service." There is no mention of him in Compton's *Military Adventurers in Hindustan*.

A HITHERTO unpublished letter from Walter Savage Landor, with a reference to his famous elegy on Rose Aylmer, forms the subject of an article by Mr. Stephen Wheeler in the January number of *Bookman*. The letter was addressed to Landor's niece Kitty (Catherine Mary Landor, who died unmarried in 1892 at the age of seventy-five) and is dated merely "January 30": but it would appear from the postmark on the envelope that it was posted at Florence on January 31, 1863 (the year before Landor's death) and delivered at Bath on February 4. It is reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Wheeler, to whom it was communicated by Landor's nephew, the Rev. R. E. H. Duke. To Calcutta antiquarians its chief interest lies in the following passage:

[Your letter] gives me the first intelligence of Mrs. Paynter's death. I first saw her when she was only six years old walking in the

burrows at Swansea, led by her sister Rose Aylmer, ten years older. I was not indifferent to Rose, nor Rose quite to me. Four of the eight lines I wrote at her death were engraved on her tomb at Calcutta.

Sophia Paynter was the half-sister of Rose Aylmer, whose mother married a Mr. Howell Price after the death of the fourth Baron Aylmer; and she became the wife of Mr. David Paynter of Dale Castle, Pembroke-shire, and the mother of Colonel Howell Paynter who was wounded at the battle of Chillianwallah in 1849. Capt. Frederick Whitworth Paynter of the Bengal Army, who fought at Maharajpur in 1843, and Lady Graves Sawle (1818-1914), Landor's "Rose from the same stem." Mr. Wheeler adduces evidence in justification of his assumption that the meeting took place at Swansea in the middle of October 1796; and as we know, Rose Aylmer sailed for Calcutta to join her uncle Sir Henry Russell in 1798 and died on March 13, 1800 at his house in what is now Russell street.

IT remains to explain how Landor came to imagine that four of the eight lines of his elegy were inscribed on Rose Aylmer's tomb. Mr. Wheeler ^{The Poet's} points out that there is no other mention of the monument ^{Mistake.} in Landor's published writings nor in any of the numerous letters which he has examined. The earliest allusion to the inscription has been found by him in "Asiaticus in Two Parts," which was published at Calcutta in 1803. In the second part a transcript of the epitaph is given: and the five lines of verse which occur at the end are clearly taken, with slight variations, from Young's *Night Thoughts*. The inscription reappears in the same form in De Rozario's *Complete Monumental Register* (Calcutta 1815) and in the two editions of the *Bengal Obituary* (Calcutta 1848 and 1851). The next stage is reached in 1886 when Dr. Busteed discovered the tomb in South Park street cemetery and owed his indebtedness to Mr. Henry Beveridge for the information which enabled him to locate it. The monument was then falling into ruin and the inscription was scarcely legible. Dr. Busteed succeeded, however, in deciphering it, and reproduced it in the second edition of his *Echoes from old Calcutta* (Calcutta 1888: p. 335). The five lines from Young's *Night thoughts* are there, but there is no sign of the four lines from Landor's elegy. Mr. Wheeler offers the following solution of the mystery. Mrs. Landor's maiden name was Julia Thuillier. Her brother, Sir Henry Edward Landor Thuillier, C.S.I. (1813-1906) of the Bengal Artillery, was appointed to the Survey of India in 1836 and was Surveyor-General from 1861 to 1878. Either he or some of the Ravenshaws who were in Bengal at the time and of whom more will be said in the following note, saw the tomb and being unable to read the inscription took it for granted that the verses were Landor's. The manner in which the whole of the eight lines of the elegy came to be added in 1909 was told in our last issue (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 190).

THROUGH his wife's sister, Rose Thuillier, who married John Hurdis Ravenshaw (Bombay Civil Service 1820-1826 and subsequently Landor's Indian Tanjore Commissioner in England) at Bath in January, 1825, Landor had many Indian connexions. Ravenshaw's father was John Goldsborough Ravenshaw, who went out to Madras as a writer in 1796 and returning in 1813, became a Director of the East India Company in 1819: he held his seat until 1839, the year before his death, and was Deputy Chairman of the Court in 1831 and Chairman in 1832. Including John Hurdis Ravenshaw, six members of the family passed from Haileybury into the Indian Service. The others were: Edward Cockburn Ravenshaw, Bengal 1822-1848, who was Commissioner of Patna and died in 1877, Holden Shephard Ravenshaw, Bengal 1833-1861, who died in 1878, Charles Alexander Ravenshaw, Bengal 1839-1842, who died in 1843, and Thomas Edward Ravenshaw, Bengal 1849-1881, who was Commissioner of Burdwan and Orissa and after whom the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack is named. There were therefore several sources from whom it was possible for Landor to obtain information regarding Rose Aylmer's tomb, although it was certainly incorrect.

WE have already pointed out (Vol. XXXVII, p. 77) that the final version of the elegy varies in certain particulars from the original as it was written in 1805. "Sweet Aylmer" has become "Rose Aylmer" and "a night of sorrows and of sighs" has been altered to "a night of memories and of sighs." In this connexion Mr. Wheeler writes: "The final version, which was made by Landor in 1846, was adopted for the inscription on the tomb upon the advice of Swinburne who decided that it was the best and that Landor intended it to be regarded as such." There had been an earlier emendation in 1831.

AN amusing article on "Printer's Errors" was published in *The Times* of January 24. But the blame is not always on the side of the printer. In "When Homer Sir George Forrest's *Life of Clive*, the following entry will be found in the index: "Remkardt, Walter (Somroo), ii, 223, 273: assassinates European prisoners, ii, 242." This strange distortion of Reinhardt into Remkardt might pass for a printer's error, if it were not for the fact that the same spelling occurs on each of the pages mentioned: and we must attribute it either to careless proof-reading or to the author's illegible handwriting. Another instance in which the compositor cannot be held at fault, may be found in the index to Volume V of Mr. James Greig's edition of the *Farington Diary*. As the events covered in the volume are confined to the years 1808 and 1809, it is astonishing to read: "Lawrence, John Laird, Governor-General of India, 260." Upon turning up the page

in question, it becomes evident at a glance that the "General Lawrence" to whom Farington alludes, is Stringer Lawrence.

THE really classic blunder in modern Anglo-Indian literature was made by Sir William Hunter in his *Thackerays in India*: and as it continues to be copied by those who have gleaned in the same field, Sir William Hunter and the Elephants. such as Mr. Bradley Birt in *Sylhet Thackeray* and the late Mr. Gerald Ritchie in *The Ritchies in India*, it may be as well to erect the danger-signal here and now. On page 91 of his book Sir William Hunter writes: "In 1774 a batch of elephants, for which [the elder William Makepeace] Thackeray was the real although not the ostensible contractor, turned out badly. Only sixteen out of sixty-six survived their trying march across India to Belgram—a distance of about a thousand miles." Mr. Bradley Birt changes Belgram into Belgaum, and Mr. Ritchie writes of "the march across India." The facts are thus stated by Mr. Henry Beveridge in his *History of Backergunge* (p. 142). Thackeray tendered for the supply of sixty-six elephants for the use of the Company's army in Upper Bengal and sent them to Patna. Sixty-two arrived there in safety, and the remaining casualties occurred in the subsequent journey from Patna to Belgram, the ancestral home of the well-known Bilgrami family, which is in the Hardoi district of the United Provinces, and stands on the old high road from Lucknow to Delhi. It was the fore-runner of Cawnpore as a garrison town for the protection of Oudh; just as Anupshahr was the predecessor of Meerut. To speak of "a march across India" is the height of absurdity: and to substitute Belgaum for Bilgram makes the matter worse.

IN the course of an instructive correspondence on "Regiments and their Traditions, which may be found in the file of the *Sunday Times* for January last, a correspondent at Cambridge pointed out that "Lake and Victory." in addition to the regulation stand of colours, the 2nd battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, still retains the separate set of colours awarded to the old 76th (Hindoostan) Regiment by the East India Company in 1803 to commemorate its services under Lord Lake at Deig and Laswarree. Between 1808 and 1830 the 76th had no colours but these which were carried through the Peninsular War. They were renewed by the Court of Directors in 1829 and by the Secretary of State for India in Council in 1886 and 1903. Before the Mutiny of 1857, one cavalry regiment and five infantry regiments of the Bengal Army were similarly honoured with a third colour inscribed "Lake and Victory:" the 2nd Light Cavalry which mutinied at Cawnpore, the 5th B.I. which mutinied at Umballa, the 7th B.I. which mutinied at Dinapore, the 30th B.I. which mutinied at Nasirabad, the 35th B.I. which were disarmed at Phillaur, and the 31st B.I., which alone survives; it became the 2nd Rajput Light Infantry in 1897 and since 1922 have been known as the 1st (Queen's Own) battalion of the 7th Rajput Regiment.

THE old 35th B.I. enjoyed in addition the distinction of a mural crown inscribed Jellalabad, in token of the defence of that place in 1842: and the guns of the 6th Bengal Light Field Battery also bore the badge of a mural crown. But these have vanished: and the Somerset Light Infantry (H.M. 13th Foot) is alone entitled to that honourable distinction.

ACCORDING to Mr. A. J. Waterfield, who contributes a letter on the subject to *The Times* of January 17, there were living at that date as many as fifty-five veterans of the Crimean and the Indian Mutiny: and several of the latter are inmates of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. During the year 1929 ten officers and six men who had seen service in the Mutiny, died, the average age being ninety-two. Four of these fought also in the Crimea. Among the survivors is Colonel Osmond Barnes, C.B., who has entered upon his ninetieth year, and who on account of his stature (6 feet 7 inches) was chosen to act as Chief Herald at the Proclamation Durbar of 1877.

A CURIOUS story was told in *The Times* of December 24. About the year 1878 the King's Royal Rifles returned to England after a term of service in India. Among the usual souvenirs which the men brought with them was a small box, measuring seven inches in length by three inches in height and four and-a-half inches in depth. The sides were made of four pieces of different woods, hard and soft, with a slightly overlapping lid of soft wood attached by two hinges of iron wire. Both the sides and the lid were decorated with an applied ornament made of small strips of variously coloured straw arranged in a central panel representing houses and trees within a slanting border. The inside had evidently been covered with some sort of wall-paper patterned with dark red roses. Apparently it was empty and as an empty box it remained for fifty years in the possession of the soldier's family until one day it was taken down for use in the construction of a wireless set. Upon being handled the bottom fell out, and eighteen letters written on old paper were discovered. The box and the letters were taken to the British Museum, and it was then ascertained that the letters had been written in November and December of the year 1810 by French prisoners lying in two hulks at Chatham, the *Canada* and *Irresistible*. The straw work was at once recognized as of the familiar type with which these prisoners occupied themselves: and further investigation solved the mystery in part. A fisherman from Etaples was repatriated and the opportunity was taken to make a box with a false bottom, and to send letters through him. It is clear that the box was never opened and that the letters remained undelivered: but the rest of the story cannot even be conjectured. How came the box to find its way to an Indian bazar?

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Imperial Record Office, at 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 26th February 1930, at 6-30 p.m.

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., took the chair.

The following report for the year 1929 was read by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

REPORT FOR 1929.

In introducing the Annual Report of the Calcutta Historical Society for the year 1929, it is encouraging to state that the Calcutta Historical Society has now entered upon the twenty-third year of its existence. During the year under review the membership of the Society consisted of 32 Life members, 123 Ordinary members and 13 Honorary members, the total number being 168 against 172 of the previous year.

2. The Committee are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., for his untiring zeal and earnest attention to the welfare of the Society and its journal. Although Sir Evan retired from India in 1925 he has never ceased to send contributions to the journal, *Bengal: Past and Present*, each issue of which containing one or more articles from his masterly pen. The Society also expresses its sincere gratitude to all those gentlemen who have helped the journal with valuable contributions. Among those may be mentioned Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, C.I.E., Captain H. Bullock, F.R.H.S., Mr. David T. Wylie, M.D., the Revd. Father H. Hosten, S.J., the Revd. Father H. Heras, S.J., Mr. Harihar Das, B. Litt. (Oxon), Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., Mr. Basanta Kumar Bose, and Mr. Brojendra Nath Banerji.

3. It is deeply regretful to announce the death of five of our valued members during the year under review. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi of Kassimbazar, Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Mr. F. Harrington of the Victoria Memorial Hall, and Mr. Surendra Nath Roy of Behala. The death of the Maharaja of Darbhanga has deprived the Society of one of its original Members. He was one of its Vice-Patrons and was a sincere lover of the modern Arts and of Literature.

The Maharaja of Kassimbazar who was not only a devoted member and Vice-Patron of the Society but was always ready to extend his generous

hospitality to the members of the Society whenever an excursion was made to Murshidabad. Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif was also one of our regular members and supporters. The death of Mr. F. Harrington was very keenly felt especially by the Editorial Committee as he was always ready to help them in many ways to illustrate its journal. It is refreshing to note that Mr. Percy Brown who has lately returned to India as successor to Mr. Harrington has not only become a member of the Society but has promised to help the Editorial Committee as his predecessor did.

4. *Financial Position.* It is pleasing to note from the comparative Statement of Accounts of the last three years and the Balance Sheet drawn up by our Honorary Auditors, Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes, that the present financial position of the Society is eminently satisfactory. After meeting all the charges for the year under review we have a balance of Rs. 821 to our credit. The total surplus amounts to Rs. 1,821 against Rs. 1,705 of the previous year.

It is regretful to have to report, however, that the subscriptions of 29 members amounting to Rs. 1,340 are in arrears, but it is expected that most of these will be realised. Rs. 300 have been realised since then.

5. The Society's sincere thanks are due to Principal R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., who held the office of Honorary Editor since the retirement of Sir Evan Cotton in 1925, and served the Society and its journal with untiring energy and devotion till his transfer to Chittagong in June last. Mr. C. W. Gurner, B.A., I.C.S., was kind enough to accept the Honorary Editorship and give his valuable time to the cause of the Society and its journal. We are deeply thankful to Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes, the Honorary Auditors; and to our Office-bearers, without whose cordial help and co-operation it would have been impossible to conduct the work.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the Society will continue in its useful labours to resuscitate and maintain the old histories and traditions of Bengal, of which there may be found ample material for research, in the many years to come.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,
Honorary Secretary.

CALCUTTA :

The 26th February 1930.

A comparative Financial Statement for the past three years.

	Subscriptions.	Sale of Journal.	Bank Balance.
1927 ...	Rs. 1,909-14-9	Rs. 546-15-0	Rs. 1,202-14-10
1928 ...	„ 1,989-15-3	„ 620-0-0	„ 1,705-10-4
1929 ...	„ 2,090-2-9	„ 343-12-0	„ 1,821-9-7

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INDEX FUND.

Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1929.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January, 1929—</i>					
With Mercantile Bank of India—			<i>Bank Charges</i> ...	0	1 0
on Current Ac-					
count ...	367	5 7	<i>Balance at 31st December, 1929—</i>		
on Fixed Deposit 1,000	0	0	With Mercantile Bank of India—		
	1,367	5 7	on Current Ac-		
<i>Sale of Index</i> ...	33	0 0	count ...	445	15 7
<i>Interest on Fixed Deposits</i> ...	40	0 0	on Fixed Deposit 1,000	0	0
<i>Deposit—D. G. Crawford</i> ...	5	11 0		1,445	15 7
	Rs. 1,446	0 7		Rs. 1,446	0 7

CALCUTTA,
16th January, 1930.Examined and found correct.
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1929.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January, 1929—</i>			<i>Printing including</i>		
With Mercantile Bank of India—			<i>Blocks and Re-</i>		
on Current Account ...	706	10 4	<i>prints</i> ...	2,119	9 6
<i>Subscriptions realised—</i>			<i>Less Charges for</i>		
Arrears ...	420	0 0	<i>Reprints recovered</i>		
1929 and Life			<i>from Mr. Seth</i> ...	25	0 0
Membership ...	1,630	2 9		2,094	9 6
1930 Advance ...	40	0 0	<i>Postage and Stationery</i> ...	221	9 0
	2,090	2 9	<i>Bank Charges</i> ...	1	13 0
<i>Sale of Society's Journal</i> ...	343	12 0	<i>Balance at 31st December 1929—</i>		
	Rs. 3,139	9 1	With Mercantile Bank of India—		
			on Current Ac-		
			count ...	621	9 7
			on Fixed Deposit 200	0	0
				621	9 7
				Rs. 3,139	9 1

CALCUTTA,
16th January, 1930.Examined and found correct.
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants.

Mr. D. C. Ghose proposed the adoption of the Report and the Financial Statement.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

Office-bearers for 1930.—On the proposal of Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansbaria seconded by Mr. C. W. Gurner all the Office-bearers of the previous year except Mr. Cassells were re-elected for the year 1930. As Mr. A. Cassells, the Honorary Treasurer was going home on leave Mr. D. C. Ghose was appointed Treasurer in his place. Mr. Percy Brown was appointed a member of the Council in place of the late Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Latif.

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his presidential address said that during the last winter he undertook an extensive tour over Malwa, Rajputana, Khandesh, Berar, Maharashtra and Central Indian States, in search of historical records in private possession. As a result he was convinced of the importance of tapping historical papers still in possession of private families whose ancestors held high offices under the Mohamedan, Rajput or Maratha Rulers. The papers that he was able to trace if published would light up many a dark corner of Indian history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and would serve to complete the British Indian Government records exactly where they are now found defective.

By way of illustration, he said that so far as the French military adventurers in India were concerned the official records were meagre and unsatisfactory and even the India Office did not supply details about them except the list of their contingents, etc. In the course of his last excursion he had been able to secure a number of letters written by De Boigne, Perron Bourquien and Dudrenec in North India as also some letters of M. Raymond. There were still other historical papers in private possession not traced. It is necessary that the Society should fully utilize these private collections of State papers all over India.

He also said that a fresh field of investigation had been opened by the new spirit of historical inquiry and the absence of jealous distrust which he noticed among several Indian Rulers and the historical families in their State. He appealed to people with historical taste to make the best use of those sources of information and communicate with the Society accordingly.

Reviewing the activities of the Society, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar said that the Society's journal *Bengal: Past and Present* continued to maintain its high standard. For this they were indebted to the tireless industry and painstaking accuracy of Sir Evan Cotton in England, and Mr. Ramsbotham and other worthy contributors. He regretted, however, that the Society had not been able recently to secure younger recruits. The transfer of Mr. Ramsbotham from Calcutta to Chittagong had hit the Society hard, though they were thankful to Mr. C. W. Gurner for looking after the

journal in the midst of his other heavy Secretariat duties. He also suggested that a few pages of *Bengal: Past and Present* should be devoted to Notes and Queries.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the Office-bearers the meeting terminated at 8 p.m.

Calcutta Historical Society.

Publications.

Bengal: Past and Present.—The Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. Back numbers available can be supplied at Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 (double numbers) a copy respectively. Consolidated Index to Vols. I—VIII, Rs. 3, and Vols. IX—XVIII, Rs. 7/8 per copy.

Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days.—An Album of Views of Old Calcutta: arranged with notes by the late Wilmot Corfield. Price Rs. 2.

The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.—By G. F. Grand (Cape of Good Hope, 1814): New edition, with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. Price Rs. 3.

To be had at the Offices of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Old Calcutta.—A set of ten reproductions from Old Prints in postcard form. Rs. 6 per set.

To be obtained only from Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd.

Calcutta Old and New.—A Historical and Descriptive Guide Book to the City: By Sir Evan Cotton, M.A., C.I.E.

To be obtained from Messrs. W. Newman & Co.

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